NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The League's Business

Twin Cities Conference Program Preview

ALMOST 100 people have accepted invitations to speak in sessions of the Twin Cities National Conference on Government to be held in St. Paul Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, November 28, 29, and 30.

Governor Luther W. Youngdahl of Minnesota will welcome the conference to the state at the opening luncheon, Monday, November 28. President Charles Edison will respond and preview the conference. As reported last month, Jack Kroll, director of the Political Action Committee, CIO, and Ed. P. Phillips, president of the Phillips Machinery Company, Richmond, will give the keynote speeches on the common stake of labor and industry in good government.

The luncheon will be followed by an afternoon session on "What Our Towns Needs" presided over by Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati. Mayor William F. Devin of Seattle will talk on the need for home rule. Mayor Jack White of San Antonio (still suffering the commission form of government) will talk on the need for a new charter, and Professor Dayton D. McKean of Dartmouth College will discuss the need for honest politicians.

Monday evening, Mayor Charles P. Farnsley of Louisville, S. A. Galatas, president of the Laundry Workers' Union, Local 238, Kansas City, and L. P. Cookingham, city manager of Kansas City, will show how efficient city government can be humanized and kept close to the people.

Those who attend the Tuesday luncheon will hear Frank C. Moore, comptroller of the State of New York and author of the famous Moore plan for strengthening and stabilizing municipal finances, talk on "Solid Money for Cities," and City Manager John B. Atkinson of Cambridge will explain how efficient management has been able to supply more and better services while keeping taxes down in Cambridge.

The Tuesday afternoon session will be devoted to a discussion of some "tough problems": Frank Bane, executive director, Council of State Governments, on "Little Hoover Commissions" for reorganization of state administration; Spencer Miller, Jr., New Jersey state highway commissioner, on constitutional revision; and James L. Beebe, lawyer and civic leader of Los Angeles, on "Democracy Gone Wild" or the misuse of the initiative in California.

The high point of the conference will be the annual dinner Tuesday evening, at which League President Charles Edison will deliver an address on "A Time of Peril." In addition, three of the other outstanding conference speakers will deliver snappy seven-minute talks on topics of special importance.

The conference will close with a joint luncheon Wednesday noon, November 30, with the Minnesota Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. Roscoe C. Martin, chairman of the Department of Political Science at Syracuse University and president of the American Society for Public Administration, will make an address on "Responsibility."

In addition to these general sessions, there will be the following group sessions:

Monday morning—"University Services to State and Local Governments," Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University, presiding; "The Political Challenge of Municipal Public Relations," Martin R. Haley, director, Municipal Publicity Board, St. Paul, presiding; "Proposed Model Direct Primary Law," Joseph P. Harris, University of California, presiding.

Tuesday morning—"Changing State Governments," W. Brooke Graves, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, presiding; "Opening the Road to Home Rule," Arthur W. Bromage, University of Michigan, presiding; "Fitting Government to the Area," William Anderson, University of Minnesota, presiding; "Education for All-Round Citizenship," John J. Mahoney, director, Civic Education Project, presiding; "P. R.—The Key to Democracy," (annual meeting of the Proportional Representation League) Albert D. Cash, mayor of Cincinnati and president of the P. R. League, presiding.

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Editorial Comment

Constitutional Tyranny

MOST state constitutions are serious obstacles to responsible and effective state and local governments. The inadequacy of these governments in the face of modern needs forces the growth of the power and prestige of the federal government at the expense of the states. This is one reason for the current interest in modernizing constitutions, evident in nearly half the states.

One might expect, in view of the growing sense of the need to strengthen our system at the grass roots, that most of these states would call constitutional conventions as a matter of course.

But there are hurdles in the way of this direct American response to the need for action. They are the state constitutions themselves. Last November 302,250 Michigan voters said "yes" to a proposal to call a constitutional convention; 164,241 voted "no." Despite the 138,009 majority for a convention, none will be held because the Michigan constitution of 1908 requires that a majority of the people participating in a general election must vote "yes" in order to have a convention.

This year a proposal to submit the convention question to the people of Illinois was lost in the legislature because the governor and the citizen proponents of the measure could not quite muster the votes of two-thirds of the members of both houses required by the virtually unamendable constitution of 1870. Even if the legislature had submitted the question in Illinois, the people would have had to surmount the same hurdle of a majority of those voting *at the general election* that deprived Michigan of a convention.

In a substantial majority of the states these and other provisions written into existing constitutions from 37 to 100 or more years ago put future revisions at the mercy of privileged minorities or of the politically indifferent and inert who never seriously concern themselves about constitutional issues.

It is obvious folly to make the future of our system hang on the non-voting of the "know nothings" and "care nothings" among us, as in one-third of the states, where a person who doesn't bother to vote on the question is counted as if he had voted "no."

It is even more obvious folly, as in Illinois and eighteen other states, to give just over one third of one house of the legislature a perpetual veto on the people's right to vote on the question. The folly is accentuated by the unrepresentativeness of the state legislatures which enables agents of much less than one third of the people to bar the calling of a convention by any regular *constitutional* procedure.

Even in New Jersey, where no extraordinary majority was required either to submit or to adopt a convention proposal, the people were denied a convention for three-quarters of a century by eleven state senators representing as little as 15

per cent of the people. When the legislature finally passed a convention bill, it required the people in voting *for* the convention to approve an attached prohibition against any change in legislative representation. Thus, the price of the generally admirable New Jersey constitution of 1947 was an agreement to leave the veto on future constitutional and legislative progress in eleven senators representing a few people and extensive pine barrens and wooded hills.

It is reported that the new state of Israel, which is blessed with some pretty wise leadership, is considering getting along without a written constitution. There is considerable merit in this idea in view of the way in which some of our constitutions have been transformed from charters of liberties into fire traps or prisons for democracy. For a constitution that does not make adequate provision for its own modernization, or give the majority of the people whose liberties it is supposed to shelter the means to correct abuses resulting from the lapse of time, is a menace to the very security and order it was d signed to protect.

In principle, constitutional prov sions that deny the people the san access to their basic laws enjoyed b the founders who wrote them a themselves profoundly *unconstit tional.* That is, they are in confli with the basic principles and a sumptions underlying our syste and are therefore subversive in th truest sense of that much abuse word.

What is to be done? The fir step, obviously, is to recognize suc un-American provisions in our sta constitutions for what they are. Th second is to carry on a vigorou campaign of education to mak even those who have fancied tha they benefit from them see the te rible risks involved in minority co trol of state constitutions. The thir is to eliminate the strait-jacket pr visions in existing constitutions an accept George Washington's mode but hopeful view that since politica wisdom is not confined to a sing time it is not necessary or prope for one generation to dictate to th next.

City Politics: Free Style

Contrary to the textbooks, not all large cities are 'tight political hierarchies' headed by political boss.

By ROBERT L. MORLAN*

THE STUDENT of municipal politics in the United States today is being given an extremely one-sided picture of political organization and party activity, at least in so far as existing literature is concerned. Most of the writing on this subject seems to assume that, excepting only those cities under 100,000 population, the pattern is essentially that expounded so entertainingly by the immortal *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall* a half century ago.

The picture almost invariably presented is one of tight political hierarchies extending from a boss and the city or county central committee through ward executives, precinct leaders and multitudinous block workers, all welded into a highly efficient 365-day-a-year machine by the magic of patronage, and controlling votes largely through the familiar process of rendering personal service to the voters.

This is not to deny that extremely effective machines continue to flourish in some American cities but rather to challenge the traditional assumption that this is the way it is done everywhere. Operations of bosses and machines have often been sensational and hence have tended to attract the attention of those investigating the facts of local political life. Interesting and useful studies of bossism have resulted from these researches, but the focusing of attention in that direction has meant the virtual ignoring of cities with less spectacular politics.

Authors of general works on municipal government and politics have found their sources of material almost entirely limited to studies of highly organized cities—and have doubtless also been anxious to include in their texts as much colorful matter as possible. As a result, the politically loosely organized city has received either no attention or has been summarily passed off with a statement that in some small cities party organization is less comprehensive.

There is, in fact, a tremendous variation in the comprehensiveness of party organization and in the extent of party activities in city wards. Machine strength is, of course, normally centered in the poorer wards, while in the more prosperous wards party workers rarely engage in much more than a bit of preelection activity. The minority party frequently maintains little if any organization in wards which are overwhelmingly of the opposite political faith, but it is also true that even

*Dr. Morlan, assistant professor of government at the University of Redlands, Redlands, California, was until recently an instructor in political science at the University of Minnesota. He was a ward chairman for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party, Minnesota affiliate of the national Democratic party, as well as a member of a county central committee and county executive committee and was a delegate to the party's county and state conventions in 1948.

the dominant party is often poorly organized in certain wards. The significant fact too commonly overlooked, however, is that there are some large cities as well as many smaller ones in which *neither* party has a strong organization in *any* ward.

It is time to re-examine our traditional concepts of city political organization, to get away from the universalities in which most of the writing in this field has dealt, and to recognize the fact that even in large municipalities political organization and activity vary all the way from highly concentrated control to loose and haphazard operation.

An Unorganized City

Minneapolis, with a population of over half a million and a long history of volatile politics, is an excellent example of a major city loosely organized politically. Its situation may not be widespread, but it is significant as a striking deviation from a presumed norm, and one may speculate that it is not alone.[1]

It is often difficult for persons familiar with the politics of highly organized cities to believe that political activity in Minneapolis can actually be as "free and easy" as it is. The truth is that any interested person can step immediately into political work, that the average party ward meeting is for all practical purposes open to anyone, that in no ward is there a party organization adequately covering every precinct the year around, that many officers of both parties at the city ward and precinct levels are practically neophytes in politics, and that the party organizations as such play minor roles in the selection and control of candidates and have almost negligible influence with city officials.

The ease with which a political amateur with a sense of direction may succeed in Minneapolis politics is strikingly illustrated by the career of former Mayor, now U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey. As a young college political science instructor with a "gift of gab," he was expounding his views on local politics one night in a typical campus bull session when someone brought him up short: "Humphrey, why don't you practice what you're always preaching about political participation, and see what you can do in this next city election?"

The upshot was that Hubert Humphrey, with hastily collected and almost wholly amateur support, little money and organization, not only survived the nonpartisan primary in 1943 but also lost to the incumbent mayor in the final election by only 5,000 out of 115,000 votes. Gathering liberal and labor support in the interim, but still operating to a large degree with what was in effect his own organization, he came back to win in 1945 by the largest plurality any mayor has ever secured. In 1947 he swept every ward and the following year went on to defeat Senator Joseph H. Ball by a three to two margin. Never did he have behind him a tight ward and precinct organization even approximating the traditional type.

Part of the reason for this wid

[1]The situation in the other of the "Twin Cities," St. Paul, is essentially similar.

pen situation is found in the fact hat Minneapolis—as do all local nits in Minnesota—elects its of-cials on a nonpartisan ballot al-nough this of course does not mean nat the parties take no part in mu-icipal politics. Party organizations ould exist for state and national ffairs at any rate and, since es-ntially the same persons are inter-sted in politics at all levels, it is ardly to be expected that they will main aloof in municipal campaigns.

Pressure Group Government

Campaigns are managed by volun-er committees for individual candi-ates, but the parties make endorse-ents instead of nominations, and n most cases they quite openly sup-ort their choices. Nevertheless, nce the parties do not manage the mpaigns of individual candidates nd do not finance them except in ne form of minor contributions, onpartisanship in local elections is efinitely a factor. It has resulted n government by pressure groups —labor unions, business associ-tions, etc.—rather than by parties t the city level.

A further cause of party weakness s the almost complete absence of ocal patronage in the sense of jobs or loyal workers. The city merit ystem, although it has some short-omings, covers almost all munici-al employment and has been little bused in recent years.

Patronage in the sense of special avors in the expectation of future upport is extensive, but it is cen-ered almost entirely in the hands f the 26 aldermen and party officials s a rule have practically nothing to do with it. The aldermen, therefore, to that extent play the role which is normally played by party ward and precinct executives. Being relatively independent, they have tended to build up personal blocs of support with little thought for the parties whose support they receive. They consider themselves more dependent upon the support of powerful pressure groups and party organization has suffered as a consequence.

Political leaders say that a strong party organization not only lives upon patronage but cannot exist without it. Experience in Minneapolis lends credence to the argument. Persons with a sincere interest in politics and reasonably strong party convictions can be stirred by a cause long enough to work for brief periods before election, but they cannot be expected to devote themselves constantly to political activity unless the party has some control over them—or unless they are possessed of a Messianic zeal like that of the Communists.

Frank Kent, in his well known but occasionally inaccurate book, *The Great Game of Politics,* says categorically that eight out of ten ward executives are on the public payroll at good salaries. In Minneapolis, of the 26 ward chairmen serving the two major parties, only one is a city employee, and his is a position under the merit system for which he is in no way indebted to the party. Nor is it true that these officials are to any extent in businesses which stand to profit from political pull. Precinct executives in strongly organized cities often hold minor political jobs, yet in Minne-

apolis scarcely a handful who are public employees can be found.

One of the leading college textbooks on city government opens its discussion of party organization with a statement concerning the hierarchy of political organization, "at the base of which is the precinct committeeman or committee in each of the 130,000 precincts in the United States."[2] This statement is misleading, since it indicates that precinct committeemen actually exist in each of those precincts. Obviously there is nowhere near the full quota.

In Minneapolis alone, except perhaps in the weeks just preceding an important election, roughly 100 of the 634 possible precinct captaincies will be unfilled and not over half the remainder are filled by active party workers who can be depended upon at all times.

Precinct Captains

The precinct executive, we are told, is a person who holds that position because he can control more votes than can any competitor, and who stays in power only so long as he can "deliver the goods." In the highly organized city the precinct executive must presumably devote a major portion of his time to politics. He must have information about virtually every voter in his precinct, know many of them personally and be able to swing enough votes to carry at least his party's primary. Traditionally he has been able to control votes largely by means of giving personal service in the form of jobs, assistance to those in trouble with the police, relief for the poo etc. Kent insists that the precinc executive functions in this manne in nine-tenths of the precincts i every city.

As many of these services are be coming institutionalized, being han dled at least in part by governmen employment bureaus and social we fare agencies, for example, the rol of the precinct executive has be come more and more that of a go between and a cutter of red tap But in the unorganized city even thi type of service is largely unknow Minneapolis precinct captains lac the necessary political pull to d the job, even if they have the in clination. Few put any time o politics except in pre-election per ods, when they distribute campaig literature from door to door, pe haps make a few phone calls on elec tion day to remind persons to vot and assist in providing transpo tation to the polls. On rare occasion a few of the more earnest ones ma do some doorbell ringing.

The average precinct captain ha no personal political following an is unlikely to possess even such a elementary tool as a list of the regis tered voters of his precinct. He not in the least concerned over th danger of a competitor developin sufficient strength to take over h job, for the job in most cases mean nothing to him and he would b happy to be relieved of it.

"Every ward executive," say Frank Kent, "holds his position be cause he has the strength to hold and for no other reason." He is, pr sumably, a little king in his war It is he who sits in the inner cou

[2]Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States,* 1947, page 508.

cils of the central party organization. It is he who wields influence at city hall, who appoints—or controls the election of—precinct executives and supervises their political activity. He has earned his position by hard work and fighting his way to the top.

The average ward executive in Minneapolis will hardly fit these specifications. Lawyers, labor leaders, business men, housewives—they devote only a relatively small portion of their time to politics and as a rule have but limited control over their ward organizations. As for influence at the city hall, they would be in vastly stronger positions as officers of the central labor union or the chamber of commerce. Not only do they have almost nothing to say in the selection of precinct executives but they can also do little more than request their cooperation once in office. That chairman is fortunate who is able to secure the attendance of over 50 per cent of his precinct captains at a meeting of the ward central committee.

Few Ward Contests

Nor have these ward executives for the most part fought their way to the top. In many cases they had no opposition and have simply been asked to serve—in some instances there are minor skirmishes. The only real battles over these positions come when there is a struggle for control of the state or county organization. After all, the ward chairman gets nothing from his job except the satisfaction of serving the party cause, although it has occasionally been used as a stepping stone toward running for elective office. Certainly he is probably one of the most politically active persons in his ward but he is only rarely a political power.

Compared to the length of service required for a person to become a ward executive in a tightly organized city, many Minneapolis ward chairmen are virtually beginners in politics. The turnover is rapid and over half the current chairmen are new to the office within the past two years, while the oldest in point of service has been a chairman for twelve years.

The writer came to Minneapolis in the spring of 1946, in a few months became a precinct captain, and in the spring of 1948 was elected ward chairman for the majority party in one of the most active and most evenly divided wards in terms of party votes. The same year he was elected a delegate to both the county and state conventions of the party—altogether a totally inconceivable series of events for a well organized city.

In the highly organized city, meetings of a ward organization are essentially closed affairs, attended only by ward and precinct officers and a few other trusted workers.

Meetings of the ward organizations of both parties in Minneapolis are open to the public. Any interested person may attend and vote on all matters, helping to elect officials or delegates and to determine party policy. To be sure, an unknown person may be questioned about his party allegiance, and known members of an opposing party would not be permitted to participate, but the individual's word on the matter is

usually accepted. At most he can merely be required to state either that he voted for a majority of the party's candidates at the last election or that he intends to do so at the next.

The practice in Minneapolis is to send meeting notices to all persons in the ward who have indicated reasonably active interest. Attendance is normally low and the ward and precinct officers are likely to constitute a sizable bloc. The fact is of little significance, however, since they are rarely if ever united upon any specific course of action in advance. A highly controversial issue may and often does bring out larger crowds, when all are given a chance to be heard and to participate in decisions. Groups with pre-arranged slates or programs of action are, of course, to be expected when anything of importance is at stake, but rarely is such a group made up of ward and precinct officers.

Caucuses Routine Affairs

Biennial ward and precinct caucuses, the vehicle in Minnesota for election of local party officers and selection of delegates to county and state conventions, are subject to the same conditions as are regular ward meetings. Adherence to the party concerned is checked more rigidly, although legally the individual's statement is all that is required. At a time of intense factional strife these caucuses may be heavily attended, as was the case within the Democratic-Farmer-Labor party in 1948 when as many as six hundred persons jammed certain ward caucuses in Minneapolis. Normally however, they are routine affairs with few brisk contests.

The writer in the spring of 1948 was an observer at the precinct and ward caucuses of the Republican party in a ward where the vote is fairly evenly divided between the parties. All were held in a school gymnasium, with the ward caucus being convened after the precinct caucuses had completed their business. Out of 28 precincts there were eleven in which no one appeared for the precinct caucus. One person could have come and elected himself both precinct captain and delegate to the county convention — this happened in two other precincts. Moreover, a person with five followers could have controlled any precinct caucus, and this is not the exception but the rule.

Perhaps this loosely organized state of politics in Minneapolis is unique, or perhaps we have too long accepted the situation in a few tightly organized cities as being universal. Surely we have been too ready to accept without adequate investigation the statement that all cities are organized politically in such and such a manner. There are a great variety of local conditions existing within the pattern of certain fairly common structural arrangements. It is time to recognize the fact that there is, in larger cities as well as smaller ones, an unorganized as well as an organized style of municipal politics.

Choosing Judges in Missouri

State's plan makes possible selection of judiciary on merit alone, with tenure based on satisfactory service.

By LAURANCE M. HYDE*

THERE are three important problems of judicial selection and tenure: How to select a man competent to be a judge? How to keep him on the bench if he does become a good judge? How to get rid of him if he does not? A good judge must have three essential qualities — personal integrity, judicial temperament and adequate legal training. The Missouri plan, which has been a part of the state's constitution since 1940, is intended to make possible the recognition of these judicial qualities in selection and to make tenure depend upon satisfactory service.

In 1940 Missouri changed from a political party primary and election system to a nonpartisan system for its judiciary. Its judges are prohibited from holding any office in a political party or organization and from making any contribution thereto or taking part in any campaign.

This was accomplished by a constitutional amendment, submitted to the voters on initiative petition, sponsored by the Missouri Bar Association. It applies to the Missouri Supreme Court with seven judges, the three Courts of Appeals with three judges each, and the Circuit Courts (trial courts) of the two largest cities. There are eighteen circuit judges in St. Louis and ten in Kansas City. It also applies to the probate judges of St. Louis and Kansas City and to the Court of Criminal Correction in St. Louis. Voters of all other circuits may adopt it in a local option election if they so desire.

Three distinct steps are provided for selection of judges:

1. Candidates for judges are nominated by nonpartisan, non-salaried commissions composed of both laymen and lawyers.

2. A judge is appointed by the governor from a list of three candidates nominated by the appropriate nonpartisan commission for the particular office to be filled.

3. After a brief trial period of at least twelve months, the judge must be approved by the people in order to remain in the office to which he was appointed.

The selection commission for the appellate courts — Supreme Court and three Courts of Appeals — is composed of the chief justice of the Supreme Court as chairman, three lawyers and three laymen. Members other than the chief justice have six-year terms, staggered so that one term expires at the end of each year. These members are not eligible to succeed themselves.

Lay members are appointed by the governor, one every two years, each from a different Court of Appeals district. Lawyer members are elected,

*Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Missouri, Justice Hyde is chairman of the Conference of Chief Justices of the 48 states. This article is based on his address before the New York Citizens Committee on the Courts.

one every two years, by the members of the bar of the Court of Appeals district which they represent. Ballots for the election of lawyer members are mailed by the clerk of each Court of Appeals, and returned to him to be canvassed by the judges or lawyers appointed by them.

The selection commissions for the city trial courts have five members—the presiding judge of the Court of Appeals of the district in which the city is located, as chairman, two laymen appointed by the governor and two lawyers elected by the bar. They also have six-year terms which are staggered. Members of these commissions are limited to one term and no governor can appoint all the lay members because the governor has a four-year term and cannot succeed himself. Members cannot hold public office nor any official position in a political party.

The people vote at the general election which follows a year of service by an appointed judge upon the question of whether or not this judge shall have a full regular term—trial courts, six years; appellate courts, twelve years. Thereafter, a judge given a full term must submit his declaration of desire for another, before the expiration of his term, and be voted on again by the people. Likewise, to get another term, all judges in office at the time the amendment was adopted were required to be voted on by the people when their terms expired.

At all such elections the judge's names are placed on separate judicial ballots, without party designation, the only question submitted being: "Shall Judge ....., of the ..... Court, be retained in office? Yes. No." The judge has no opponent and runs against no political party or national political policy but only on his record of service on the bench. Unless that record is corrupt or obviously inefficient, there is every reason to expect that he will receive a favorable vote. Nevertheless, the voters may dispense with the services of a judge whom they believe has proven himself dispensable. They have already done so in one instance.

Operation of the Plan

It is believed this plan utilizes the best features of both the appointive and elective systems but provides safeguards lacking in either. It is more democratic than the usual appointive system because it gives a better opportunity for consideration of the views of the bar and the people and provides for an executive appointment with confirmation by popular vote rather than only that of one house of the legislature.

The provision for confirmation by the entire electorate is in itself an excellent preventive of poor appointments; and the fact that appointments must be from a previously selected list removes the opportunity to appoint personal or political favorites of either the governor or senators.

The selected list is made by a commission which has no other function and upon which the bench and bar and the layman are represented; full publicity is given when a vacancy exists and suggestions from the bar and the public are invited. The commission is well adapted to receive and

consider impartially both the views of the public and the appraisal of the legal profession as to the ability of those under consideration. Furthermore, the spotlight of publicity is kept on the operations of the commission by a vigilant press.

The fact that at regular periods, after original confirmation by the electorate, the people may vote to retain or retire a judge is a great incentive to all judges to make a good record. It provides an easier way than impeachment to terminate the service of one who does not. Moreover, since tenure depends solely upon the test of satisfactory service, no campaigning is required and no time is lost from judicial work in election years. Judges know that their tenure is secure if they do good work, and may count on making the judiciary their life career with practically the same assurance as under the federal "good behavior" standard.

This is the ninth year of the operation of the plan. Six appellate court judges have been appointed under it, two to the Supreme Court, two to the Springfield Court of Appeals and two to the Kansas City Court of Appeals. There have also been six circuit court judges—three in Jackson County (Kansas City) and three in St. Louis —and the probate judge of Jackson County appointed under the plan. In the nine instances in which the people have voted on these appointments, they have ratified them overwhelmingly. The other four appointments, made during 1948 and 1949, will be voted on in November 1950.

The newspapers of Kansas City and St. Louis have criticized none of the appointments. On the contrary, they have commended not only the appointments but also the high quality of all those named by the selection commissions on the lists submitted to the governors.

No Party Politics

The four elections under the plan have demonstrated its nonpartisan feature. Issues between political parties are no longer decisive of tenure of the judges who are under the plan. In the first election in 1942, the state went Republican but two Supreme Court judges, both Democrats, were retained by a two to one vote. St. Louis went Republican but retained by a two to one vote six circuit judges who were Democrats and at the same time confirmed for a full term the first circuit judge, a Republican, appointed under the plan.

In the 1944 election the state went Democratic as did both Kansas City and St. Louis. Nevertheless, two Supreme Court judges, one a Republican and one a Democrat, received substantially the same favorable vote for retention of about three to one. Two Court of Appeals judges, one a Republican and one a Democrat, were retained. In Kansas City a Republican probate judge received fewer "no" votes than any of the six circuit judges who were Democrats, also retained.

The 1946 and 1948 elections show similar results. In 1946 St. Louis went Republican but retained ten circuit judges, all Democrats, seven of them by a four to one vote. In 1948 the state went Democratic as

(Continued on page 503)

Better Schooling, Less Cost

Arkansas on way to achieving greater efficiency as well as higher standards when voters cut districts two thirds.

By E. MAXWELL BENTON*

FOR the past few years there has been considerable agitation in Congress for federal aid to education. Proponents of federal aid contend that many states are unable to provide adequate educational facilities and, in their opinion, the only solution is a plan of federal grants to states.

The United States Senate has in the last two sessions of Congress passed bills authorizing an annual appropriation of $300,000,000 for distribution among the states on a variable grant basis. So far, however, the House Education and Labor Committee has bottled up all such legislation.

Under the Senate bill's formula, states scheduled to secure the largest allotments of federal funds are the so-called poorer states—those in which annual income payments are relatively low.

Although lack of adequate funds is a major reason for the existence of unsuitable educational facilities in many sections, a contributing factor is defective educational organization and administration. Many local school units are too small for efficient and economical operation of a school system. The cost of education is far out of proportion to its quality.

Larger administrative areas, on the other hand, permit establishment of large school plants which in turn reduce the unit costs of education. Furthermore, a broader tax base resulting from an increase in the geographical area of a school district tends to provide more nearly equal financial support for all schools.

Arkansas, as one of the low income states, would receive one of the largest allotments of federal funds under the aid bill passed by the United States Senate. And the state's educators have looked longingly towards this possible bonanza from Washington. But the state is not waiting for the federal government to solve its school problems. Positive action has been taken to reduce the number of school districts by adoption of an initiated act by the electorate in 1948. This act has laid the foundation for a more efficiently operated system in Arkansas.

Effective June 1, 1949, the school district reorganization act created a new district in each county, comprising the territory of all those districts with fewer than 350 children between the ages of six and eighteen years. Professional educators generally favor administrative units with school populations of not less than 1,200. There are also those who believe that Arkansas could adopt profitably the county unit plan.

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Sponsors of the reorganization act felt, however, that elimination of all districts with a school enumeration of less than 350 had a better chance of enactment by the electorate. After all, four-fifths of Arkansas' 1,589 districts each had less than 350 children of school age in 1948. And 184 of these small districts operated high schools, none of which could meet North Central Association requirements.

Districts Too Small

A more graphic picture may be shown by noting conditions in one Arkansas county in 1948. There were then twenty school districts in this particular county—all but three have been eliminated as a result of the reorganization act. Each of the twenty districts was under the supervision of a locally elected school board, and each voted its own local tax levy. Only five had an assessed valuation over $100,000. Eleven districts each received less than $500 in local taxes in 1948. Not one of these eleven districts could have supported a school of any kind without state aid.

Another district in the county with an assessed valuation of $171,000, which produced $2,273 in local taxes in 1948, maintained a high school for ten pupils at a cost of $184.10 per pupil in average daily attendance. Current expenditures per child in average daily attendance in all white high schools in Arkansas averaged $123.60 in 1948. Needless to say, the comparatively high unit cost in this district did not provide increased educational opportunities for its children. The school was unaccredited.

Prior to adoption of the school district reorganization act, similar situations existed in a good share of the state's 75 counties. Most school districts were too small to provide a full twelve-year program. The State Department of Education reported that in 1947 more than 65,000 of the 411,000 children enrolled in Arkansas schools lived in districts too small to support any kind of high school, and 128,000 resided in districts too small to provide an accredited high school.

If a nearby district maintained a high school, those living in districts without such facilities might attend under these conditions: (1) the board of education in the district where the high school was located had to give its consent; (2) tuition had to be paid; and (3) transportation had to be provided.

In 1946 a reorganization measure similar to that enacted in 1948 was narrowly defeated largely because the voters in many rural areas were led to believe that adoption of the act would automatically close down all small schools. In the 1948 campaign, therefore, it was especially emphasized that administrative districts and not attendance areas were being reorganized.

An administrative district is the territory governed by a single board of directors; an attendance area, the territory served by a particular school. For example, a municipality may comprise a single administrative school unit. Electors of the district vote for one board to govern the school system. However, the city may well have numerous attendance areas, that is, schools.

The reorganization act adopted by Arkansas voters in 1948 abolished no schools. Rather it abolished district boundary lines and created a new district composed of the territory of those districts having less than 350 children of school age on March 1, 1949. Whether or not existing schools are to be discontinued or new schools located is left to the determination of locally elected boards.

Elimination by Annexation

School districts were given until March 1—more than three months after adoption of the reorganization act—to annex or consolidate with high school districts of their own choice in accordance with existing state laws. Many small districts took advantage of this provision by annexing themselves to large nearby ones following mutual agreements between the school boards of the affected areas. School authorities feel certain that some annexations were made without careful study as to the best location of school facilities.

According to the State Department of Education, 531 separate school units were eliminated between the end of the 1948 school year and March 1, 1949. When the reorganization act took effect three months later another 635 districts were eliminated, namely, those with an enumeration of less than 350. Therefore, between June 1, 1948, and June 1, 1949, the number of school districts was cut from 1,589 to 423—a reduction of 1,166. Four Arkansas counties which in 1948 had 84, 77, 52 and 51 districts, respectively, now have nine, three, four and four districts.

The reorganization act compels the elected board of the new district and the county board of education to provide twelve years of free schooling for every child within the county. Elementary schools are supposed to be located as near to the homes of children as possible which means that many small schools cannot be eliminated. However, numerous one-room elementary schools which have been operating with less than ten children will be closed this year.

All of Arkansas' school districts supposedly will be able to support accredited high schools. At least all children in Arkansas will as a result of reorganization have access to a free high school education. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the state still has too many small high schools. It is not logical to assume therefore, that Arkansas' school problem has been solved by the reorganization act.

One of the immediate problems facing school authorities is that of providing transportation to school centers. Arkansas is essentially a rural state. Many areas are sparsely settled. Economically operated schools, especially high schools, are possible only if consolidated schools are established. Otherwise enrollments are too small and the cost of teachers, buildings, libraries and laboratory equipment becomes prohibitive.

Consolidated schools mean, in many instances, added transportation costs since money has to be provided for the purchase and operation of school busses. Transportation costs are, for the most part, borne by the

state, funds being allocated to districts which guarantee transportation for every child living more than two miles from school.

Obviously, existing buildings are not large enough to house increased enrollments in all districts. New buildings will need to be constructed, or additions made to old structures. This is, of course, a long range problem particularly when it is realized that poor roads and geographical barriers, such as mountains and streams in certain sections of the state, present obstacles in the way of affecting immediate consolidations.

Economies Can Be Made

Although transportation costs are likely to increase, important economies may be effected as a result of the reorganization program:

1. By providing for a more efficient and economical administration through elimination of duplicate boards and records;

2. By eliminating expensively operated schools, especially high schools; and

3. By providing for the purchase of supplies and equipment on a more efficient basis.

Economies will not, of course, automatically result from reorganization. Careful planning and continuous supervision is necessary to assure a better expenditure of the school dollar. And despite economies which may be realized from the reorganization program, Arkansas is due to spend more money for public education in the next few years.

Since 1940, public school expenditures have increased from approximately $14,000,000 to more than $40,000,000. State grants to school districts are at an all-time high with the state furnishing approximately 70 per cent of all revenue receipts of local school districts and additional funds are now available on the local level as a result of the recent removal of the constitutional limit on school millage levies.

Money alone is not going to raise school standards. As a matter of fact, undue emphasis is frequently placed on per capita expenditures in comparing school facilities. At a time when the costs of education have increased enormously, every effort should be exerted to justify such increases. Adoption of the district reorganization act has made possible a more efficient expenditure of school funds in Arkansas and, as a result, an important step has been taken to secure a better education for the state's school children.

When Services Get Too Big

California metropolitan areas try various types of district authorities in lieu of real consolidation.

By JOHN C. BOLLENS*

TWO MAJOR types of California's most numerous and least known local governmental unit, the special purpose district, are becoming increasingly important in the state's urban areas. For lack of better terminology they may be called quasi-municipal and metropolitan districts. The chief distinction between them is the smaller size and volume of activities of the former.

Most quasi-municipal districts are small in area, their boundaries usually approximating those of the unincorporated community which they serve. Some include several large unincorporated territories and a few are county-wide. Although they are scattered throughout the state, they are most numerous in suburban areas. The five counties of Los Angeles, Sacramento, Orange, San Mateo and Contra Costa, all of which have large suburban and fringe developments, contain 644, or 35 per cent, of the state's quasi-municipal districts.[1]

The services they provide most frequently to unincorporated areas pertain to fire protection, lighting, cemeteries, sewer maintenance, water and sanitation. Taken together, these six services account for 1,249 separate special units, almost 70 per cent of all quasi-municipal districts. Other district activities include mosquito abatement, public health work, hospital and airport construction and police protection. In most instances each district furnishes only one service.

Any of six reasons may motivate the creation of quasi-municipal units. First is the strongly felt need for a particular service—fixed city and county boundaries are frequently not coextensive with specific needs. Second, property owners may fear that incorporation or annexation will mean heavier taxes than those levied by a special district. Third, solution of the problem through a municipal government may be impractical because of the small size and resources of the area. Fourth, if only a few services are needed, it may be felt that incorporation is unnecessary and uneconomical. Fifth, there may be a desire for local control emanating from a distrust of the county or city administration or a belief that independence will eliminate politics and guarantee that the function will receive the emphasis and expenditure

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[1]A complete listing of the types and number of special districts in California is contained in *Special Districts in California Local Government*, Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1949.

desired. Sixth, when existing local governments are unable to finance new or enlarged functions because of tax or debt limitations or inadequate resources, special districts have sometimes been organized to escape restrictions or broaden the base of financing.

Most quasi-municipal districts are governed by specially created bodies, either independently elected or appointed by the county board of supervisors. Some are governed directly by the county board of supervisors. The board has legal budgetary control over a majority of the districts which it does not directly govern. However, the extent to which this control is used to influence district operations is not known. There is practically no state supervision of district activities.

Setup of Districts

District organization procedure follows the usual steps of petition by residents, review of the petition by the county board of supervisors, and an election in the area. This procedure is sometimes modified to allow initiation by a city or county governing body in place of the petition, or approval of one or more local governing bodies instead of election. Annexation of new territory requires the consent of the district governing body and usually approval by residents of the area involved.

Quasi-municipal districts which require small initial financial outlays, such as fire protection, police protection, cemetery maintenance, lighting and mosquito abatement, have the two great needs of efficient, economical operation and improved standards. Sewage, sanitation, public utility, water supply, airport construction and hospital construction districts require large original financial expenditures. Their chief problems, in addition to the need for efficient operation, are financing and planning of physical plants.

A number of special districts providing municipal services in urban areas may be called metropolitan districts because of the size of their operations and the fact that their services transcend numerous local governmental boundaries. There is no precise distinction between metropolitan districts and quasi-municipal districts, although the former are usually much larger and contain one or more cities and possibly unincorporated territory. The more important metropolitan districts are sanitation, municipal utility, water, bridge and and highway, regional park, port and harbor, and airport districts.

Metropolitan districts are found chiefly in and near large metropolitan areas, where there is need for cooperation by several cities in order to serve a common need. A typical situation which resulted in establishment of a district of this kind is exemplified by the history of the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California.[2] Eleven cities in the Los Angeles metropolitan area, all cognizant of the acute need for an adequate water supply to augment their dwindling resources, determined to seek a joint solution. The water district was established in 1928 to secure water from the

[2]See *History and First Annual Report*, the District, Los Angeles, 1939, pages 26-51.

Colorado River and transport it to the Los Angeles area. The district now provides water for cities and public water agencies in a three-county area running from Los Angeles to San Diego.[3]

Requirements for the formation of metropolitan districts are usually less stringent than for quasi-municipal, school and agricultural districts, the three other main types of special districts. Also, more discretion and power in the initiation and organization of several of these districts is given to the cities and counties which are to be included.

A county sanitation district may be established by a simple resolution of the county board of supervisors, unless there is a protest from 2 per cent of the voters, in which case an election must be held. Formation of a metropolitan water district is initiated by resolution of any city council, and is established by election in all municipalities whose councils have approved the resolution.

Formation of a municipal utility district may be started by resolutions of one half the public agencies which are proposed to be included. A metropolitan fire protection district may be originated by any city council or county board of supervisors, and approved by the governing bodies of other interested cities or counties.

In a number of cases the governing board of these districts is chosen in such a way as to represent the governing bodies of the member agencies. The county sanitation district, for example, is governed by a board composed of city and county officials distributed on a modified population basis. Directors of the metropolitan water district are appointed by the executive officers of the participating agencies. The governing board of a bridge and highway district is appointed by the boards of supervisors of participating counties. In other instances, particularly in the case of districts coterminous with the county, the county board of supervisors governs. Municipal utility districts and regional park districts are supervised by elected directors.

A number of metropolitan districts, such as revenue producing utility districts and those operating in more than one county, are completely independent of county controls. Their boards have the full powers necessary for budgeting, assessment and tax collection. There is little direct state supervision or control of these districts, other than permissive control over dam construction, bridge construction and sanitary system installation.

District Financing

All these districts have the power to levy a general property tax, but there is much variation in the extent to which this source is used. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California receives more than 90 per cent of its income from the property tax and the Los Angeles County Flood Control District depends solely upon this. The East Bay

[3]Members of the district are Anaheim, Beverly Hills, Burbank, Compton, Coastal Municipal Water District, Fullerton, Glendale, Long Beach, Los Angeles, San Diego County Water Authority, Pasadena, San Marino, Santa Ana, Santa Monica and Torrance.

Municipal Utility District, Sacramento Municipal Utility District and Golden Gate Bridge and Highway District rely primarily upon service charges and toll fees.

Because of their large resources, most metropolitan districts are able to float bond issues as easily as cities. They have ratings of A and Aa in *Moody's Manual of Investments,* indicating that the factors giving them financial security are considered high or adequate.

The principal merits of metropolitan districts are: (1) furnishing a type of governmental organization whose territory coincides with the area needing its service; (2) providing an agency through which unified, area-wide planning can be carried out; (3) pooling the resources of the smaller governments; and (4) acquiring the economies of large operations.

Their possible disadvantages are: (1) impairing the effectiveness and regional nature of district operations if certain areas decide not to join; (2) increasing the number of elected officials, thus removing from the existing governments certain powers and responsibilities; and (3) adding new independently elected local governing bodies to the unwieldy array existing in most metropolitan regions.

Recommendations Made

These last two difficulties could possibly be mitigated by providing in all instances for representation of existing local governments on the district board of directors. County supervisors or city councilmen could sit on the district board, as in the county sanitation district, or they could appoint representatives, as in the metropolitan water district.

At least five official and semi-official organizations which have studied California local government have made recommendations about quasi-municipal districts. Three of them urge the county as a likely agency for governing intra-county special districts or handling their functions.[4] Possibilities suggested by the other two studies are: (1) political consolidation of districts with each other or with municipalities, and (2) close cooperation among the local governments in a county area.[5] Two of the analyses urging county control qualify their recommendations. The Los Angeles County report calls for reorganization of the county government prior to its assumption of special district functions.[6] The statewide committee investigation specifies alternate types of districts, one governed by the county, the other by local boards, with the choice between them depending on the local situation. It also recommends establishment of a state division of local governmental

[4]California Commission on County Home Rule, *Final Report,* 1931, page 9; Los Angeles County Committee on Governmental Simplification, *Report,* 1935, page 8; Interim Committee of Twenty-Five of the California Conference on Government and Taxation, *Final Report of Committee on State Organization,* 1941, page 82.

[5]Los Angeles City Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, *A Study of Local Government in the Metropolitan Area within the County of Los Angeles,* 1935, pages 280-281; and Santa Clara County Council on Intergovernmental Relations, *Better Intergovernmental Relations,* San Jose, 1947, page 48.

[6]This study was issued three years before the creation of the office of county chief administrative officer in 1938.

service endowed with supervisory and advisory functions.

Although single purpose quasi-municipal districts of limited jurisdiction are frequently tried as an early expedient, the choice in attaining satisfactory government in the smaller urban areas of California may really be between incorporation and annexation.

The primary reason why unincorporated areas should turn to incorporation or annexation instead of quasi-municipal districts is neither unsatisfactory popular control nor fragmentary municipal services. It is the need for regulation and control of land use, subdivision development and design, and building standards. Only a few unincorporated areas fortunate enough to be located in a county which has taken action, and no special districts, satisfy this need in California. Conversely, when an area does incorporate or annex, then zoning, building standards and equitable subdivision requirements are possible because they are all part of the city's ordinance power.

The Way Out?

The time has probably come in California urban development when population density should be the standard for requiring by court order that an area either incorporate or annex.[7] State legislative action is required to establish this criterion. Such a population density plan would eliminate the excessive use of special districts in rapidly growing, heavily urbanized localities.

This proposal still leaves the choice between the two major methods of acquiring municipal services to the local residents. Furthermore, it directly reflects the conviction that when a place becomes urban it should assume urban responsibilities. Unincorporated urban areas are simply required to act comprehensively and affirmatively when a certain status is reached and to realize that such action involves either annexation or incorporation.

An analysis of several major studies of metropolitan government reveals two distinct attitudes toward the metropolitan district or authority. It is recognized that such agencies may be of real value in providing some metropolitan service when no other overall agency exists for that purpose. The district or authority is also generally viewed as a temporary expedient, however, and not as a final solution to metropolitan problems.[8]

The more recent remarks of three writers familiar with government in metropolitan areas concur that "special districts increase the confusion of independent and semi-independent governmental units which make up the present-day chaos of metropolitan government," "the district plan cannot be expected to solve the metropolitan problem as a whole," and "obviously the number of such authorities would become

[7]For a discussion of the use of court orders in Virginia annexation proceedings, see Raymond B. Pinchbeck, "City-County Separation in Virginia," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, July 1940, pages 467-472.

[8]National Municipal League. Committee on Metropolitan Government, *The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States*, 1930, pages 337, 341.

too great if a separate one were created for each activity."[9]

These statements refer primarily to metropolitan districts organized to provide a single service. Since a chief criticism is directed toward the failure of districts to provide effective governmental integration, it is possible that multi-purpose districts, authorized to furnish several services on an area-wide basis, would avoid this censure.

In this connection the results of the Boston Contest of 1944, a competition for the most effective governmental structure of the Boston metropolitan area, are relevant. The three prize winning plans, developed by teams of experts and interested citizens, each called for some form of metropolitan area-wide multi-purpose administrative authority.[10]

A similar suggestion, urging creation of metropolitan districts governed by officials of cities and counties included within the district's territorial limits, as the most feasible means of attacking metropolitan area problems, has also been proposed for the San Francisco Bay region.[11]

[9]Victor Jones, *Metropolitan Government,* the University of Chicago Press, 1942, pages 98-99; Thomas H. Reed, "The Metropolitan Problem — 1941," National Municipal League, *City Growing Pains,* 1941, page 14; and Charles M. Kneier, *City Government in the United States,* Harper & Brothers, 1947, page 363.

[10]Boston University, *The Boston Contest of 1944,* 1945, pages 8-10, 31-33, 89-90.

[11]John C. Bollens, "They All Want to Stay Out," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, June 1948, pages 313-314. For fuller details, see *The Problem of Government in the San Francisco Bay Region,* Bureau of Public Administration, University of California, Berkeley, 1948.

CHOOSING JUDGES IN MISSOURI

(Continued from page 493)

did Kansas City and St. Louis. Yet of the two judges retained in Kansas City—both by a five to one vote—one was a Republican. In St. Louis, of the six circuit judges voted on, one Republican and five Democrats, only two of the Democrats received the favorable vote of almost four to one by which the Republican was retained, the other three receiving a favorable vote of about three to one.

Missouri's experience has demonstrated the plan's effectiveness in bringing about a gradual and continuing improvement of the judiciary. It has taken the courts out of politics. Political parties have respected it and have made no effort to influence elections under it. Judicial qualities have been substituted for party affiliations as the principal basis for selecting and retaining judges. Court dockets have been brought up to date, delays lessened and expense of litigation reduced because judges spend no time campaigning for reelection but are free for court work.

All this has increased the confidence of the people in the courts and raised the prestige of the judiciary. The people believe in the plan because they have three times voted overwhelmingly in favor of it. We believe it is the best plan of selection and tenure for state courts that has yet been devised.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . . . . *Edited by H. M. Olmsted*

Army Selects Manager Town as Model

Features Teaneck, New Jersey, in Film for Showing Abroad

TEANECK, NEW JERSEY, a township that has had the council-manager form of government since 1930, was selected by the civil affairs division of the U. S. Army as a model community to serve as the subject of a photographic exhibit in the government's re-education and orientation program in occupied countries.

The exhibit comprises 30 photographs with captions and text and is designed to demonstrate how a small municipal government in this country is organized and how it functions. The subject matter includes the town council in session, Manager Paul Volcker and his office, the health, public works, police, fire, buildings and recreation departments, the magistrate's court, the work of the township treasurer, the tax assessor, the tax collector, and the town clerk, construction of a sewer project, children's safety patrol, public library, a veterans' housing project, the public schools and a meeting of the Parent-Teachers Association board. Army authorities explained that they were motivated by the township's "fine municipal spirit and the high quality of its governmental service."

The township manager said of the event: "All people of Teaneck feel pride and satisfaction in this national recognition. I have always found Teaneck people highly intelligent and proud of their town. They are ready to fight at the drop of a hat over any live issue."

Council Manager Plan Developments

By an overwhelming margin of three to one the voters of **Concord, New Hampshire,** (23,171) adopted the council-manager plan on October 10. Two questions were on the ballot. The vote on the first was 4,225 in favor of scrapping the city's 40-year-old charter and 1,672 for retaining it. The second question offered the voters a choice between a council-manager charter and one providing the strong mayor plan. The manager plan won by 4,071 to 1,335, carrying every ward. Concord becomes the fifteenth state capital to adopt the manager plan.

The town of **Cape Elizabeth, Maine** voted September 15 to employ a town manager, effective March 6, 1950.

The town of **Saco, Maine,** voted on October 3 against adoption of the council-manager plan. Two questions were presented to the voters. On one ballot the manager plan was defeated 943 to 846. On the second ballot three choices were given: the manager plan which received 769 votes; retention of the present charter with certain amendments, 345 votes; while 609 voted against either change.

At a special referendum in **Westbrook, Maine,** October 10, the existing mayor-council plan was retained, receiving a vote of 2,441, while a council-manager plan proposal received 1,66 votes. A plan similar to the existing one, somewhat amended, received 19 votes.

Dover, New Hampshire, voted 3,42 to 1,646 on October 4 to retain th manager plan. Each of the five ward gave a majority for the manager plan whereas two years ago when the pla was adopted one ward was against i At that time the city as a whole vote

three to two for the plan; this time the vote was better than two to one.

Keene, New Hampshire, will vote November 8 on the question of retaining the manager plan—having rejected a stronger manager charter at the election on September 13.

In **Barre, Vermont,** a nine-member commission "to study the feasibility of city manager type government for Barre" has been appointed at the request of the city council, and is engaged in a study of the question.

Council-manager plan elections to be held in **Massachusetts** include **Haverhill, North Adams** and **Springfield** as to Plan D, and the towns of **Arlington, Ipswich** and **Stoneham** as to the town manager form. Plan E elections for **Chelsea, Gloucester** and **Somerville** are still uncertain, because of the doubtful status of proportional representation in Massachusetts.

Petitions have been circulated in **Lowell, Massachusetts,** calling for a vote in November 1950 on replacement of Plan E (manager with P. R.) by Plan C (commission plan).

Sponsors of the council-manager campaign in **Danville, Virginia,** two years ago are again active. A mass meeting for public discussion of the manager plan was held on October 3, at which a committee was authorized to conduct a campaign, and petitions for a referendum are now being circulated. The plan lost by only 65 votes out of 3,229 in 1947.

In **Beckley, West Virginia,** where a council-manager proposal was defeated three years ago, the Republican candidate for mayor this year has reiterated his support of the manager plan. A suggestion was made in the city council to hold another election on the manager question soon.

Voters of **La Grange, Georgia,** in an advisory election on September 14, endorsed the council-manager plan by a vote of 547 to 339. The plan must be submitted to the state legislature and, on its approval, come before the voters again.

A campaign is under way in **Mound, Minnesota** for adoption of the manager plan.

The League of Women voters of **Iowa City, Iowa,** is campaigning for the council-manager plan, with the help of other citizens.

Movements for council-manager government have made notable progress in **Beatrice, Grand Island** and **Kearney, Nebraska,** and elections on the question are expected in the near future. The Chamber of Commerce of **Minden** has been studying the plan.

Lindsay, Oklahoma, voted on September 27 to retain its council-manager charter, 670 to 229.

The manager plan is under consideration in **Yukon, Oklahoma,** and **Springville, Utah.**

In accordance with petitions recently filed with it, the city council of **San Antonio, Texas,** has set January 24 for a referendum on adoption of the council-manager plan.

The directors of the **Florence, Colorado,** Chamber of Commerce have authorized the manager of the chamber to make a study of the manager plan.

A special election on adoption of the council-manager plan will be held in **Santa Paula, California,** on December 6.

Berkeley Consolidates City Functions

The number of departments administered by the city manager of Berkeley, California, has been reduced from nineteen to ten, as part of a reorganization plan recently approved by the city council.

A new consolidated finance department now includes functions formerly performed by the independent departments of assessor, clerk, purchasing and budget, and treasurer. The public works department has added the work

of the former building inspection and electrical departments. A newly created service department consolidates the present departmental functions of building maintenance, equipment maintenance and refuse collection. The health department absorbed the former community welfare office. One department, the veterans affairs center, was discontinued.

Training for Officials in Philadelphia Area

Encouraged by the response from local governmental officials in the Philadelphia metropolitan area to the 1948-49 training program of fifteen conferences, the Institute of Local and State Government, University of Pennsylvania, will conduct a similar series during the eight months beginning in October. Almost 800 public officials, representing 109 municipalities in southeastern Pennsylvania and southern New Jersey, attended the previous series, which dealt with local finances, personnel administration, problems of highway construction and maintenance, sewage, refuse, public health and institutional management, public recreation, building codes, police administration, planning, zoning, subdivision control and housing.

Each conference is divided into three sessions: functional objectives, examples of administrative practice and practical compromise of differing viewpoints (problems for discussion). One prominent objective is to help elected councilmen and commissioners appreciate the technical problems involved, so that they may determine policy questions to the best interest of their communities.

Police Emphasize Public Relations

A recent survey by the city of Los Angeles discloses that five out of six police chiefs in 90 of the nation's big cities consider public relations activities essential. Police departments in a third of the group have regular public relations units. In 88.8 per cent of the cities, police are given training in public relations.

Regular news releases on crime prevention are issued by more than 41 per cent of the cities replying to the questionnaire while another 28.8 per cent do this occasionally. Nearly all departments furnish speakers. A large majority of cities have juvenile or youth groups sponsored by the police and many police officers devote private time to these activities.

Cities Ask U. S. Aid in Crime Control

Help by the federal government in combating organized criminals and their real or attempted influence in local government has been sought by the American Municipal Association through its executive director, Carl Chatters. The request was made to Attorney General J. H. McGrath, following widely publicized charges by Mayors Bowron of Los Angeles, Morrison of New Orleans and Lee of Portland, Oregon, that nation-wide syndicates of criminals are attempting to control politics in their cities. Mr. Chatters stated:

"In some cases the mayors are threatened with recall, and in other cases it appears there is active political pressure prior to election. In any case the matter is too great to be handled by local officials alone, since the organized criminal element operates on a national scale across state boundaries."

Safety Program for Public Employees

A special feature of the annual Safety Congress of the National Safety Council, held in Chicago in October,

was a program on public employee safety problems. City managers, mayors, department heads and other officials concerned with protecting public employees were invited to participate in a panel discussion on methods of promoting safety work in that field.

According to the Civil Service Assembly *Newsletter*, "the advantage of a good safety program is well demonstrated by the one used in Alameda, California. The city has decidedly reduced its accident rate by setting up an accident investigation and prevention committee which makes a careful study of every accident involving a city employee, both in personal injury and property damage cases. When cases are closed, the city attorney supplies the department head concerned with information concerning the manner in which it was settled."

AMA to Meet in Cleveland

The 1949 conference of the American Municipal Association will be held in Cleveland, November 30 to December 2. Featured topics are relations between governments; street and highway finance; employment, unemployment and economic stability; and municipal finance policies.

Legislative Research Units Now in 23 States

Three more state legislatures have acted in 1949 to provide themselves with research bodies to aid in the solution of legislative problems.

The Council of State Governments reports that Florida, South Carolina and Texas established legislative councils for this purpose this year. Since Kansas initiated the idea in 1933, the total number of states with such agencies has risen to 23.

States with such councils are Arkansas, Alabama, Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington and Wisconsin.

Their composition varies in size from three in South Carolina to 27 in Kansas. With few exceptions most of the councils are now entirely legislative in membership. With only one exception all the councils received increased appropriations during the 1948 or 1949 legislative sessions.

The functions of many of the councils have expanded in recent years. In Kansas a legislative fiscal officer was added in 1947. During the same year Maryland added a Fiscal Research Bureau in the Department of Legislative Reference and authorized an assistant director of research for the Legislative Council itself. A legislative auditor was added this year to the staff of the Nevada Legislative Counsel Bureau. In Nebraska the legislature recently made provision for a full-time assistant director in the fields of records, accounting and budgetary procedures of administrative agencies.

Reports of activities in recent sessions indicate that the work of the longer established agencies continues to be well received. Those more recently established, which could not be expected to show corresponding results in a short period of time, have won sufficient recognition in the 1949 sessions to guarantee continuation and financial support.

Three States Study Institutional Cooperation

Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont are conducting a joint study of methods to get more for their money in state institutional services, the American Public Welfare Association reports. It is believed that the talks

may lead to plans for new institutions to be run jointly by the three states for patients from all three.

Initially, studies of facilities for alcoholics, defective delinquents and sexual pyschopaths will be undertaken. If it is found that cooperative action is advisable, such plans will be taken up with governors and legislatures of the three states.

Maryland Commission to Study Air Pollution

Governor Lane of Maryland has appointed a commission to examine the problem of obnoxious and poisonous fumes in the state's large factory areas. As provided by the 1949 legislature the commission is to submit its report to the governor and the legislature in advance of the 1950 session.

Proposed Amendments to Texas Constitution

Electoral and legislative methods are among the subjects of ten proposed amendments to the constitution of Texas, to be voted on at a special election on November 8.[1]

Abolition of the poll tax as a qualification for voting is the purpose of a proposed amendment to Section 2, Article VI. Annual registration is specified, however, and the legislature is empowered to prescribe a registration fee.

Service of women on juries is provided by an amendment proposed for Section 19 of Article XVI; exemption from jury duty because of sex is prohibited.

Annual meetings of the legislature are provided by a proposed amendment to Section 5, Article III. The sessions in even-numbered years are to consider only proposals to amend the constitution and to make appropriations for regular salaries and expenses, and other measures if permitted by four-fifths of each house. Legislators' salaries are set at $3,600 per year.

[1]See also page 511, this issue.

Maryland Loyalty Law Held Unconstitutional

An act of the 1949 Maryland legislature requiring loyalty oaths from all public employees and providing fines and imprisonment for membership in "subversive" organizations has been outlawed by the trial court. The court declared it to be in violation of basic freedoms guaranteed by the first and fourteenth amendments to the federal constitution, and of due process under the fifth amendment. It is characterized as "an unlawful bill of attainder," and "too general for a penal statute." Appeal to the upper federal courts is planned.

Water Pollution Board Urges Uniform Laws

The recently organized Water Pollution Control Advisory Board adopted recommendations that include the preparation of the essentials of a uniform statute that could be adopted in part or in whole by states interested in strengthening their water pollution control activities. In calling attention to this need the board observed that "uniform legislation is essential to the success of a nation-wide water pollution control program."

Changes in U. S. Civil Service Setup

The United States Civil Service Commission is now operating under the reorganized administrative structure that was presented to Congress by President Truman. The former president, Harry B. Mitchell, is now chairman, with administrative responsibility for day-to-day operation, while Commissioners

(Continued on page 512)

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck*

Women Voters Propose Manager for St. Louis Co.

Seek Efficiency 'to Receive More Services for Tax Dollar'

A PROPOSAL to apply the manager plan to St. Louis County, Missouri, as the basis of its proposed home rule charter, has been submitted to the county's charter commission by the League of Women Voters.

In offering the proposal, Mrs. Stephen Gribble, chairman of the league's committee on county government, said: "We believe that government should be economical, efficient and responsible. So we think that the most important service you can render in drafting a charter is to change the form of county government from the present rural county setup to a more modern, less complex form that will enable citizens of the county to receive more services for their tax dollars."

The league proposal includes a board of supervisors of from seven to nine members elected partly from districts and partly at large. Its members would constitute the policy-making body and would appoint a full-time county manager. The manager would appoint department heads subject to the board's approval and administer the county government. The proposal also includes numerous other improvements — an independent audit by a certified public accountant, centralized purchasing, the merit system, as well as the initiative, referendum and recall.

A proposal to the commission by the Wellston Chamber of Commerce, that 71 incorporated communities in the county consolidate such functions as fire and police protection, traffic control, road and street work, and "as many others as lend themselves to consolidation," met the opposition of Wellston's Mayor Owen E. Thompson.

Board of Seven Recommended for King County, Washington

A subcommittee of the 32-member King County, Washington, Charter Advisory Commission recently recommended a seven-man board of county commissioners, the continued election of the assessor and auditor, appointment of the clerk and treasurer, and abolition of the office of constable.

The board of county commissioners of seven with staggered terms, nominated and elected by districts and with a majority coming from outside the city of Seattle, would replace the present board of three.

The subcommittee recommended also establishment of the office of county budget director, appointed by the county commissioners, to help frame annual budgets and perform pre-audit duties.

The abolition of the office of constable would be accompanied by the transfer of these duties to the office of sheriff.

It recommended also:

1. That the appointment of clerk of courts be either by majority concurrence by superior court judges or appointment by the county commissioners from a list submitted by judges—and with definite term of office;

2. That the question of abolition of county coroner, with his duties allocated between prosecuting attorney and sheriff, be referred to the charter commission for final decision;

3. That the question as to a charter provision for better integration of

county law enforcement activities with those of city and state be referred to the full commission;

4. That the question of assigning civil process-serving, now being performed by sheriff, to clerk of courts be referred to the full commission;

5. That the office of county treasurer be appointive by the county commissioners, with bookkeeping duties now performed by county auditor transferred to the treasurer;

6. That the office of county auditor be continued elective with auditor performing post-audit functions. He would also remain in charge of elections;

7. That the county assessor continue to be elected; and

8. That there be established the position of county recorder to be appointed by county commissioners.

Virginia County Rejects Executive Plan

By an overwhelming margin of 921 to 397, the voters of Prince William County, Virginia, rejected on September 20 the executive form of county government. The plan secured a favorable vote in only two of the county's seventeen precincts. It was charged that opponents used deliberate misrepresentation as their chief weapon.

Maryland Plans County Development

Several projects undertaken recently by Maryland state and county officials mark distinct progress in the development of natural resources and the planning of orderly growth. To assist in over-all planning, the State Planning Commission has issued a study on county population trends. It reveals substantial growth in all counties.

One rural county more than doubled its population since 1940 as a result of establishment of a naval air station within its boundaries. Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, adjacent to Washington, D. C., almost doubled their populations, and Baltimore County, virtually surrounding Baltimore City, increased approximately 30 per cent.

The zoning commissioner of Howard County, suburban to Baltimore, has issued his first annual report in which he discusses industrial development and comprehensive planning for the county. A Howard County Special Planning Commission recommended a survey of schools which was subsequently accepted by the county board.

In Dorchester County, the county commissioners participated in the selection of a committee of sixteen to formulate a plan "to meet the need for additional development along industrial lines." The State Planning Commission will participate in this survey.

Early this year the state commission published *A Plan for the Development of Anne Arundel County*,[1] which recommended that after the present backlog of major construction has been completed the county attempt to finance further capital improvements on a pay-as-you-go basis. There are also some 22 additional recommendations including creation of a department of finance, a department of public works with the county manager as director, and of a planning commission and a fire department. It recommended also the strengthening of the purchasing system. Shortly after publication of the report, the county manager recommended a similar reorganization program which was adopted by the county commissioners and is now in effect.[2]

A committee appointed by the commissioners of Wicomico County and the

[1] January 1949, 148 pages.

[2] See the REVIEW, September 1949, page 406.

Salisbury city council are negotiating for the return of the city and county owned airport from the lessee in order to enable the city and county to engage in direct operation.

Texas Votes on County Improvement

Among the ten proposed constitutional amendments being voted upon in the Texas referendum election on November 8,[1] three have for their purpose the improvement of county and local government. One provides that the legislature shall have authority to provide for the organization of county-city health units and their operation.

Another amendment authorizes the legislature to provide for the creation of merit systems for county employees in counties of 75,000 population or more. Any system so authorized and established must be approved by a vote of the people and apply to appointive offices only. It is thus applicable to only a dozen counties at present.

A third proposal gives the legislature authority to provide for a statewide system of retirement and disability pensions for appointive officers and employees of counties, but provides that participation by counties shall be voluntary and shall first be authorized by referendum vote.

County Zoning Progress in North Carolina

The Durham County, North Carolina, zoning commission, in cooperation with the Durham city planning board, is conducting a land use survey of the perimeter area outside the city. The survey will constitute the basis for a county zoning ordinance.

Much of the work is being done by University of North Carolina students, who will survey approximately 55 square miles of territory consisting of land immediately surrounding the city and that along the main roads of the county. The project is being directed jointly by the city and county on a cooperative basis, but the board of county commissioners is financing it and will exercise final veto power.

Forsyth County, in 1947, was the first to begin zoning operations when the General Assembly authorized the county and the city of Winston-Salem to engage either in separate or joint planning activity.[1] Durham is the second county to be granted this authority for all territory outside municipal corporations.

The 1949 legislature also extended to Craven and Carteret Counties the power to establish a joint zoning commission to adopt regulations for Cherry Point Air Station, which overlaps both counties.

Alice and Jim Wells Discuss Health Consolidation

The Jim Wells County (Texas) Commissioners Court recently held public hearings on the question of establishing a city-county health unit jointly with the city of Alice.

Atlanta and Fulton County Still Talk Consolidation

The Local Government Commission recently held hearings to obtain special proposals for improved government in Atlanta and the Fulton County area, including consolidation of functions, annexation, one government and other plans.

The Central Atlanta Improvement Association, in its testimony, endorsed a plan for an extensive annexation program, consolidation of many city and

[1]See also page 508, this issue.

[1]See the REVIEW, January 1949, page 49.

county functions within city boundaries to be governed by a mayor and small city council and coordination of city and county governments by establishment of a county commission of eleven, nine of whom would be the mayor and city councilmen.

J. P. Court Reforms Suggested

The State Junior Bar of Texas has recommended the following changes in the justice of peace and traffic courts:

1. Creation of the office of coroner in more populous counties to relieve justices of the peace of inquest duties.

2. Abolition of the fee system of pay for justices of the peace and traffic court judges wherever possible.

3. Giving county commissioners courts authority to determine the number of justices of peace required in each county—at present the state law calls for not less than four and not more than eight precincts in a county. A justice is elected in each precinct.

4. That serious study be given to abolition of the civil and criminal jurisdiction of the justices of the peace, transferring this to additional county clerks.

5. Improvement of physical facilities of courts handling traffic cases.

6. Promotion of conferences of justices of the peace and traffic court judges to discuss mutual problems and to further consistency as to fines and penalties and interpretations of traffic laws.

7. Promotion of the use of traffic schools for violators.

8. Discouragement of the practice of traffic ticket fixing.

Reorganization Pays Off in Jasper County

The recorder's office of Jasper County, Missouri, is reaping the benefits of modern technology. Between 1946 and 1949 the staff was cut in half by adoption of the photocopy process for the reproduction of records. Business of the office has decreased approximately 25 per cent since the postwar peak in 1946, but the office is going to show a larger "profit" than in any year since the war as a result of adoption of the labor saving device.

CITY, STATE AND NATION

(Continued from page 508)

Frances Perkins and James M. Mitchell exercise joint responsibility with him in policy formation and the conduct of hearings. An executive director is also established.

The commission proposes that the various federal agencies provide systematic training in administration for their professional, scientific and technical employees who show aptitude for administration. Shifting of capable administrators among various fields is also to be encouraged in the effort to develop executive talent.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

Norway and Austria Elect Parliaments

Results Back Present Moderate Governments

NATIONAL elections have been held under P. R. systems in Norway and Austria this fall.

The Norwegian election, held October 10, resulted in the Labor party increasing its bare majority in the Storting (parliament) to a comfortable preponderance by a gain of nine seats, while the Communist party lost all its previous strength of eleven seats. Approximately 71 per cent of those eligible to vote participated in the election.

Norway uses a party list system of P. R. which is limited in operation by a constitutional provision that two thirds of the Parliament must be elected from rural districts and one third from the cities. This, as the table below shows, throws off nation-wide proportionality to a slight extent.

In the Austrian election on October 9 both of the two major parties lost a number of seats and a new right-wing organization became the third largest party, while the Communists remained as a minor factor with a slight gain.

Both elections presage continuance in office of the present government. The Austrian government of Chancellor Leopold Figl has the backing of both major parties—the People's and Socialist—which together still possess a substantial majority. The elections are summarized below.

Transferable Vote Used for Sudan Assembly Officials

The Sudan Legislative Assembly has adopted standing orders which provide for the election of its speaker, deputy speaker and leader by means of the single transferable vote. The method of election amounts to the application of the Hare system of P. R. to

AUSTRIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, OCTOBER 9, 1949

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats	Seats 1945
People's	1,844,850	44.3	77	46.6	85
Socialist	1,621,275	38.9	67	40.6	76
Pan-German Ass'n of Independents	489,132	11.5	16	9.7	0
Communist	212,651	5.1	5	3.0	4

NORWEGIAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, OCTOBER 10, 1949

Party	Votes	Percentage of Votes	Seats	Percentage of Seats
Labor	800,792	45.8	85	56.7
Conservative	277,913	15.9	23	15.3
Liberal	216,581	12.4	21	14.0
Agrarian	85,008	4.9	12	8.0
Christian People's	146,413	8.4	9	6.0
Joint Right Winglist	106,959	6.1	0	0
Communist	101,666	5.8	0	0
Community	12,914	0.7	0	0
	1,748,246	100.0	150	100.0

the election of a single officer, insuring a majority choice with one ballot when there are three or more candidates. In 1948 there was no occasion to use the system, however, since there were only one or two nominations for each of the offices.

British P. R. Society Reviews Elections

The annual report for 1948-49 of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain,[1] presented at its annual meeting in London on June 30, reviews elections in many countries.

The report notes the tendency of local elections in Great Britain, which have been largely nonpartisan in the past, to become straight party contests. An intrusion of national party alignments into some university elections, on a much smaller scale, is also noted. Both developments raise the question of the representative character of the election system used.

The report reviews in some detail elections of the London county council and the Glasgow city council held last spring. In both the Labor party obtained less votes than its chief rival party, but in London it obtained as many seats as its rival, leaving the lone Liberal member to hold the balance. In Glasgow it obtained a majority of the seats, with approximately 45 per cent of the votes.

The report estimates that if P. R. had been used in the existing three-member constituencies, the Progressive party would have obtained three more than a majority of the seats in the Glasgow city council. Fortunately for the majority of the voters, two traditional non-elected council members, the dean of guild and the deacon convenor, used their votes to secure the election of a Progressive lord provost. This reversal of the political balance annoyed Labor members, whose reaction was to refuse all chairmanships.

The report reaches the conclusion that "all the bad feeling which has been stirred up would have been avoided if only the method of election had been fair and less importance had been attached to 'control' of the council."

Northern Ireland

The report also analyzes the political situation in Northern Ireland, where P. R. was abolished in 1929. Evidently religious differences are a greater factor there than in neighboring Eire, where P. R. is in force and where a firm coalition government, according to the report, "has provided the first practical proof that the single transferable vote really does away with that evil of coalitions under the British system— the necessity for bargains between parties in the constituencies."

The report sums up the situation:

> The minority feels itself in so hopeless a position that in the 1949 election for the Northern Ireland Parliament no less than 20 seats out of the total of 52 were uncontested. All the Unionist M.P.s are Protestants and all the Nationalists Roman Catholics—religious differences are thus emphasized. The issue of union is made the sole question on which the people may vote; no Unionist will vote for a Nationalist, whom he considers to be an enemy of the state, or *vice versa*; each supports his own candidate, no matter what that candidate's views may be on (say) industrial policy or the social services.

Hence we get the absurd position

[1] *The Sure Foundation for Strong Stable Government—P. R.*, P. R. Society, 82 Victoria Street, London, S. W. 1, 1949. 52 pp. 6 d.

of a Northern Ireland election becoming a referendum on a question to which the answer is already known and furnishing no guide at all to the kind of administration the country wishes its Unionist government to provide.

Under P. R., of course, voters would be able to choose among candidates of different complexions within their own party, and the normal differences of internal politics would begin to cut across the barrier which now seems so all important.

The report also refers to the P. R. elections in two Irish counties, Dublin and Kerry, discussed in this department last February. It compares the participation in these elections with that in corresponding elections under the British system:

> Of special interest to us is the size of the poll. Dublin's 46.6 per cent was deplored by the press as "low", and the 61 per cent in Kerry was considered still "not good enough." When we remember that in London, with two great party machines working at full pressure, it was thought quite a triumph to get out 40.6 per cent of the electorate, it seems clear that the knowledge that one's vote will count really does make people more inclined to use it.

Malta Vacancy

The filling of a vacancy on the governing body in Malta under unusual circumstances is described. In Malta, as in Tasmania and some American cities, vacancies are filled by re-examination of the original ballot papers which elected the late member. In this particular case the choice devolved upon a candidate who at the time of the original election belonged to the same party as the vacating member but who had changed his party affiliation in the meanwhile. He was nevertheless seated. The report remarks:

> It should, of course, be noted that the position is no worse than it would have been if Mr. Cauchi had been returned at the general election and then had changed his party — instances of this kind have occurred in Britain and we have no remedy. . . . It might be thought worth while . . . that the new nomination paper needed for each of the general election candidates who were willing to stand again should be signed by, say, at least three quarters of the original nominators. If the candidate changed his party and the nominators did not, they would refuse their consent; if, on the other hand, the nominators followed the candidate in his conversion, it would seem probable that most of his other supporters would do so too, and would therefore be quite content to have their votes used for that candidate.

In reviewing the election in Israel last spring the report comments on the form of P. R. used:

> The method used was party list P. R. applied to the whole country as one constituency. Though this was probably a good way of dealing with the first election, it can hardly give satisfaction as a permanent institution—it is more impersonal even than the French method, for when a party list has to cover 120 seats it is clearly impracticable even to state the names of all the candidates on the ballot paper, let alone give the voters a choice among them. We believe that a more personal system will be demanded, and we hope it will be

the single transferable vote. We are encouraged in this hope by individual enquiries we have had since that election.

P. R.—Key to Democracy Theme of Annual Meeting

As announced in this department for October, the Proportional Representation League will hold its annual meeting at the Hotel Lowry, St. Paul, Tuesday morning, November 29, in connection with the Annual Conference on Government of the National Municipal League. (See page 482 for conference program).

Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati, president of the P. R. League, will preside. Hon. Joseph C. Vesely, former mayor of Hopkins, Minnesota, will describe the first use of P. R. in his city and state; Ronald E. Gregg, executive secretary of the Municipal League of Toledo, will report on the status of P. R. in that city; and Mayor Cash will tell of the important part P. R. has played in bringing good government to Cincinnati. The first use of P. R. in four Massachusetts cities will also be reported (speaker to be announced) and a film talk, "P. R.—People's Rule," prepared by the Citizens Plan "E" Association of Worcester and the Cambridge Civic Association for use in explaining P. R., will be shown.

THE LEAGUE'S BUSINESS

(Continued from page 482)

Wednesday morning—"Getting New Constitution," Franc L. McCleur, of Lindenwood College, presiding; "The Efficient City," John S. Linen, vice president, Chase National Bank, presiding; "Successful Civic Campaigning," L. E. Marlowe, former president, Richmond Citizens Association, presiding "Management of the Smaller Community," Warren C. Hyde, city manager, Albert Lea, Minnesota, presiding; "Proposed Model State Medical Examiner Law," Richard Ford, Department of Legal Medicine, Harvard Medical School, presiding

The National Association of Civic Secretaries will hold supplementary sessions, at which any interested citizen will be welcome, Sunday night, November 27, and Monday morning, November 28. The subject for discussion Sunday will be how to preserve good government. Hayes A. Richardson, director of welfare, Kansas City, and W. D. Bryant, executive director, Community Studies Kansas City, will lead off with a discussion of Kansas City's problem of maintaining good government in the face of the determined effort of the machine politicians to take over. Members of the association will direct their discussion to questions raised in these talks. Monday morning the topics will be rating and endorsing candidates and the ever present problem of money for civic work.

Conference headquarters and all sessions will be at the Hotel Lowry. Persons needing reservations should write as soon as possible, being sure to say they are attending the National Conference on Government. Tickets for the Monday Tuesday and Wednesday luncheons and the Tuesday night dinner may be obtained in advance by sending order and remittance to the National Municipal League, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Luncheon tickets are $1.75 and dinner tickets $3.00, gratuity included.

Preliminary programs may be obtained from the League on request. The final program, which will be available at the conference, will include the names of additional discussion participants in the group sessions.

The annual meeting of the members of the National Municipal League will be held at 4:30, Monday afternoon, November 28.

Taxation and Finance . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

Will Scarcities Force Economies?

Southwest Study Indicates Savings by Re-use of Water

SCARCITIES are usually associated with higher costs, but a recent study of a specialized phase of the water problem in the southwest suggests that urgent needs may in time force us to expedients which will actually save money. The particular problem, it is true, affects only a limited area of the nation—although already millions of persons are concerned—but its implications may prove to be widespread.

Most people living in areas of abundant rainfall have little realization of the vital importance of an adequate water supply. In semi-arid sections of the nation the situation is vastly different, as residents of the southwest and western desert areas are well aware. In these areas the availability of water is recognized as a limiting factor as to both population and industry. Pertinency is given this consideration by the fact that one of the areas for which the water supply is most rigidly limited is also the one which has grown most rapidly since 1940—Southern California, especially metropolitan Los Angeles.

Virtually all the modern growth of the Los Angeles area has been based on importation of water from the outside. It has been decades since water flowed in the local streams except during rainy periods. Before World War I the city turned to the High Sierras and in 1913 completed the famed Los Angeles Aqueduct to the Owens River valley 240 miles to the northeast.

By the 1920s it was evident that this supply would not long suffice and that additional water was needed by adjacent cities and the remainder of Los Angeles County. The Metropolitan Water District of Southern California was formed to import water from the Colorado River, impounded in Boulder Canyon behind what is now designated as Hoover Dam. The 242 mile Colorado River Aqueduct was completed in 1941. Colorado River water is not yet being used to available capacity, but it is already supplementing local supplies in Los Angeles, Orange and San Diego Counties and, as local supplies are further drawn down during the dry cycle which began several years ago, it will be used in increasing quantities.

Samuel B. Morris, chief engineer of the Los Angeles city department of water and power, has estimated that the Owens and Colorado River waters, together with local supplies, would support a population in these and two adjoining southern California counties of about eight million people and permit the irrigation of several hundred thousand acres. Population above that limit would necessitate increasing abandonment of irrigation, the often mentioned twelve million limit being contingent on virtual abandonment of irrigation in the five southern counties.

Early in 1948 the board of supervisors of Los Angeles County requested its county engineer, the chief engineer of the Los Angeles County Flood Control District and the chief engineer of the joint administrative office of the Los Angeles County Sanitation Districts, to study the possibility of reclaiming water from sewage. The engi-

neers submitted their report last spring.[1]

The persons concerned in the study all have extensive experience with various phases of the water problem. The chief engineer for the county sanitation districts, of which there are more than a dozen operating jointly a vast trunk sewer and disposal system serving most of the populated area outside the city of Los Angeles, is A. M. Rawn, an outstanding sanitation engineer who served as chairman for the study. Representing the flood control district, which also operates large spreading grounds to divert flood waters to the underground storage, is Colonel H. E. Hedger. The county engineer, C. E. Arnold, also has extensive contact with water and related problems since the county supervisors are ex-officio the governing body for a variety of special districts concerned with water facilities.

The engineers found that reclamation of water from sewage is both practical and economically feasible. The practical aspects of such reclamation have of course long been recognized by sanitary engineers; indeed, one treatment plant in the area, that of the small city of Covina, has long produced effluent of a quality suitable for unrestricted use which has actually been used both for irrigation and for recharging wells. The engineers recommended, however, that reclamation be handled as a separate process, apart from sewage treatment and disposal. This would simplify both operations.

More interesting was the finding that reclamation of sewage would be economically feasible. At present over 100,000,000 gallons of waste water are discharged daily from the sanitation districts' joint treatment plant into the ocean. By the end of the century the discharge is expected to approximate 300,000,000 gallons daily. The engineers described tentatively three plants which would permit reclamation of 70,000,000 gallons daily of the present waste water. After reclamation this could be spread over receptive areas and returned to the underground, from which it would be recovered by pumping. Other smaller plant sites were also found to be feasible, but the three larger suffice to illustrate the economics of the situation.

A yardstick for measuring costs comparatively exists in the already established facilities in the area. Presently, surplus raw water from the Colorado River has been offered by the Metropolitan Water District at $15 per acre foot (an acre foot is the quantity of water needed to cover an area of one acre to a depth of one foot). The engineers estimated that, over a 50-year period, the average costs, including bond interest and repayments, would range in the three proposed plants from $14.20 to $19.05 per acre foot of water reclaimed, the lower average being for the largest plant, of 50,000,000 gallons daily capacity, while the higher is for water to be spread in an area where the only alternate water available is softened Colorado River water for which the quoted price has been $20 per acre foot.

While the unit costs of reclaimed water may be described as fully competitive with imported water, the capital cost of securing it may be described as comparatively inexpensive. The engineers' estimates of the construction costs of the reclamation plants, pumping stations, spreading ponds, etc., for the three plants capable of reclaiming 70,000,000 gallons daily add up to just over $12,000,000, the equivalent of ap-

[1] *Report upon the Reclamation of Water from Sewage and Industrial Wastes in Los Angeles County, California.* Board of Engineers, Los Angeles, April 1949.

proximately $16,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily in capacity.

In contrast, the Los Angeles Aqueduct cost approximately $90,000,000. Its capacity is about 290,000,000 gallons daily, so that the capital cost was approximately $31,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily. The Colorado River Aqueduct, constructed during the depression years of the 1930s to an initial capacity of 500,000,000 gallons daily, cost roundly $200,000,000, or approximately $40,000,000 per 100,000,000 gallons daily.

There are, of course, few areas in the nation where the supply of water is so rigidly limited as in the southwest, or where rapidly increasing populations provide the immutable pressure to take all practical steps to alleviate the situation. Further, topographical and soil conditions in many localities would not permit use of the same reclamation process proposed for the Los Angeles area by Mr. Rawn and his associates.

Nonetheless, it is significant that in this instance, where scarcity of a vital commodity forced the exploration of unusual methods of meeting the problem, it was found that a substantial measure of relief could be secured at a practical cost.

In what other areas of local government may we eventually be driven by scarcities of one kind or another to expedients which will prove more economical than the traditional methods used when abundance prevails?

Cambridge Manager Confounds Critics

Cambridge embarrassed the governments of Boston and other neighboring cities by its spectacular unbroken progression of lowered taxes since adoption of the council-manager plan in 1941 until last year when its rate went up a little. The jeers from hostile editors and politicos resounded over the state.

City Manager Atkinson issued in September this year a statement showing resumption of the downward trend of Cambridge tax rates and demonstrating:

1. The 1949 rate of $39.80 is ten cents less than that of 1948 and $6.50 less than that of 1941, Cambridge's last year under the old plan.

2. All the seven adjoining communities have raised their rates since 1941 in a range from $6.40 to $17.20 (Boston).

3. Cambridge is the only city in the state with a 1949 tax rate lower than 1941.

4. The rate provides $500,000 for contemplated salary and wage increases to municipal employees who, since 1942, have been reputedly the highest paid in the state.

Further details on unchanged valuations, diminished floating debt and overlays, etc., close off possible surmises as to some explanation other than good management.

R. S. C.

No Let-up in Local Borrowing

No sign of a let-up in the large volume of state-local financing of capital improvements was evident as 1949 entered its final quarter October 1. Sale of new bonds was continuing at an extraordinarily high level, and voter approval of new borrowing indicated continued large-scale capital financing for some time to come.

State-local sales of new bonds in September amounted to more than $326,000,000, according to the compilations of *The Daily Bond Buyer*, compared with $119,000,000 in September 1948, and the previous postwar September peak of $275,000,000 in 1947. In

(Continued on page 528)

Citizen Action . . . . . *Edited by Elsie S. Parker*

Seattle League Educates Youngsters

Schools Committee Works with High School Pupils

THROUGH its public schools committee, the Seattle Municipal League is doing an outstanding piece of work in educating high school pupils in the principles of democracy and, more particularly, in the know-how of their city and county government.

The league has established a special student subscription rate for its *Seattle Municipal News* which is below printing costs. A trial use of the *News* as a civics textbook in the contemporary problems class at Cleveland High School was made last spring. The teacher, Miss Lou Ella Hart, said that students found the *News* an excellent source of information and that its use would be continued. "One of the best features about the *News*," she commented, "is that it gives a full but concise discussion of the most important local issues."

Emlyn D. Jones, director of social studies of the school system, was so pleased with the interest shown in the *News* by students that it is now used in all Seattle high schools.

Says the *News*, in a recent issue, "If young Seattle can, through the *News*, gain a better understanding of local government, its problems and each citizen's responsibilities, the league will be succeeding in its most important purpose."

Another project of the league's school committee was a test of the knowledge of some 2,184 United States history students regarding their local government and a quiz to determine the students' attitude toward it.

First part of the test was a series of 72 questions, some of them true or false problems, some multiple-choice, etc., dealing with such matters as the term of the mayor, how he is chosen, his powers, employees under civil service.

One high school was outstanding in its correct answers, with a median score of 38 as against the "all city" score of 31. Superintendent of Schools Samuel E. Fleming, in commenting on the results of the test, said that "The Seattle school district was happy to cooperate in carrying out this project for it gives us valuable information as to what we need to stress in our teaching of local government."

The attitude survey was prepared and analyzed by the psychology department of the University of Washington, and given, as was Part I of the test, through the cooperation of the school board. To quote the *News*:

"The questionnaire's results showed that the more than 2000 high school seniors participating think their local government is pretty good, that city government does represent the will of the people, that the work of most departments is good.

"However, they're not convinced that the police department is 'run honestly in the interests of all citizens,' nor that local government provides all the services it should. . . .

"Of all the questions asked, the favorable responses of the students was two and a half times the number of unfavorable responses. The same questionnaire was answered by a group of Seattle business executives. Their responses showed them equally

favorable toward local government.

"However, a group of office employees responding to the questionnaire indicated a less favorable attitude. Only 60 per cent of the replies of this group were favorable while 40 per cent were unfavorable."

School News Here and Abroad

"'City officials for a day,' high school students of Baker (Oregon) passed an honest-to-goodness ordinance which has regular city officials in a quandary to enforce," says *Western City*. "As is the custom in many cities, the students took over the government of the city for a day, but unlike the custom in other cities the kids in Baker did not limit their activities to posing for pictures behind the desks of city fathers. They adopted an ordinance designed to promote safety on certain streets by requiring parallel parking. Businessmen located on the affected streets have protested vigorously the enforcement of the ordinance. City officials probably wish the students were still in office."

The Withers Public Library of Bloomington, Illinois, is making a special effort to have on hand the materials needed by school children assigned topics by social science and government teachers. The library has available a list of civic organizations. It has built up notebooks on current officials of the city, county and state, using newspaper clippings and other sources of information. It keeps on hand such pamphlets as the *McLean County Handbook*, issued by the Bloomington branch of the American Association of University Women, the Central Division of the Council for Social Studies and the McLean County League of Women Voters, which contains data on townships, city and county government and the organization of political parties. Also available are government textbooks, pamphlets of the National Municipal League and periodicals devoted to government.

"A School Studies Its Village—Local Government Lends Life to Lessons," (*Progress*, a bulletin of public relations of the National Association of Local Officials, London, Spring 1949) describes the experiment of an English school in teaching local government. As told by Headmaster R. W. Bunday of Storrington County Secondary School, the school made the teaching of local government a part of practically all its studies—mathematics, science, history, etc. "We believe," says the author, "that the children have gained useful knowledge and experience in the day-to-day civic affairs affecting themselves and their families; they have been brought into first-hand contact with those responsible for the public services; a sense of citizenship and civic responsibility has been born."

The summer number of *Progress* describes the project of the Queenswood Preparatory School. Here pupils held an election with class rooms for wards. Chosen were a school mayor, mayoress, deputy mayor and mayoress, and committees on finance, health, milk, savings and sports. Robes of office, replicas of official robes, were acquired through a "bring and buy" sale. Previous to the first meeting of the council the school officials attended a real city council meeting to witness its procedure.

Studying the Community

"The Secret of Community Betterment," by H. Clay Tate, editor of the Bloomington (Illinois) *Pantagraph*, appears in *Colorado Municipalities* for June. Mr. Tate describes an experiment by his paper and the University

of Illinois "to encourage more abundant living in the small rural towns that dot the prairie of Illinois." The area in which the experiment was conducted was that within a 50-mile radius of Bloomington. As a result several communities have set up community councils made up of representatives from every organization and interest group; have named "an executive committee to serve as the driving force in each community," and named three action committees to specialize in (1) industries, business and personal service; (2) social facilities and services; (3) civic affairs and public activities.

The Civic Advisory Council of Toronto has published *Report on a Community Study of West Toronto* (sixteen pages, mimeographed) which seeks to find the attitudes of residents toward their neighborhood, social and recreational life, religion, liquor, etc. The long series of questions was prepared with the aid of the Gallop Poll. Staff and students of the University of Toronto volunteered some 4,725 hours of time to conduct the survey.

Local Action for Community Development has been published by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce in cooperation with the Pennsylvania Department of Commerce. It is described as "a practical manual for people interested in making better use of local resources." It is well illustrated with interesting cartoons and winds up with the cogent comment —spread over two pages—that "it takes action now to build for tomorrow."

An all-over picture of the government of South Bend, Indiana, is presented in *Civic Cinema,* prepared by the South Bend Civic Planning Association. Mimeographed on multi-colored paper are such data as a chart of the city, salaries paid city officials and employees, city expenses and budget and a roster of officials and their duties.

* * *

Scholarship Award

The first scholarship of the William P. Lovett Memorial Fund has been awarded to Donald Smallwood of Detroit who is majoring in government at Wayne University. The fund was established in 1948 in honor of Mr. Lovett, secretary of the Detroit Citizens League for 30 years, who died in 1947. The fund is administered through the Student Aid Foundation of Michigan which selects the beneficiaries.

* * *

Election Activity Continues

Five hundred Voters Service Centers were the pre-election aim of the League of Women Voters of New York City—five hundred places where voters could find out how to go about the task of voting. By a chain of telephone calls every member was asked to aid at these centers, to speak on election matters, to distribute *Facts for Voters.* During registration week in October telephone centers were established numbers for which were advertised in the press and otherwise, voters booths were placed at strategic outdoor spots throughout the city, and centers were established in apartment houses, offices, etc., where individual members supplied election information. All workers received full instructions on how to answer questions and an eight page digest of the provisions of the election law. *Facts for Voters* discussed the pros and cons of eleven issues to be decided at the polls.

The national board of the League of Women Voters is sponsoring a series of thirteen regional conferences on Voters Service for October and November. Each local league may send four delegates to the conference in its region.

The City Club of Portland, Oregon, authorized its section chairman of legislation and elections, Allan Hart, to organize the numerous committees needed to expedite preparation of reports on election measures. Men with no more than "an allowable bias" with respect to any particular question were asked to indicate their willingness to serve.

The Cincinnati City Charter Committee reports that "Cincinnatians everywhere are expressing pleasure over the high quality of this year's charter council ticket." Response to the charter platform, reports the committee in its *Charter News Letter,* has been equally good. The platform covers the master plan for Cincinnati, housing, smoke abatement, transit improvements, reduction of gas and electric rates, the merit system in the city's service, etc.

* * *

New Publications

Across from City Hall—"a monthly digest of civic affairs as seen from the Citizens Union window across from City Hall Park"—represents a new format for the *Citizens Union News* (New York City). It will be issued monthly except July and August. Editor of the sheet is Eleanor C. Tanzer, assistant secretary of the Citizens Union. Sprightly pen and ink cartoons, opposite the news notes they illustrate, are sprinkled through its four pages.

The Sling Shot—"The bulletin of the little people" is issued by the Yonkers (New York) Citizen Union.

* * *

New Organization

According to the *Seattle Municipal News,* the newly organized Municipal League of Spokane has been patterned along the lines of the very successful Seattle Municipal League. At a recent meeting of the new organization, Herbert Hamblen, Spokane attorney, in introducing Speaker Donald Stocking, chairman of the Seattle league's Town Criers Committee, commented that the new group "is not a taxpayers' economy league. . . . We do not mind paying for government but we want something good for our money."

* * *

Workshop

The New York State Citizens' Council cooperated this summer in a "Workshop in Community Action," held at the School of Education of New York University. The program was "designed to train representatives of citizen-serving fields—education, government, business and industry, labor, agriculture and social welfare."

* * *

Strictly Personal

The City Club of Milwaukee has named John Visser, former chairman of its house committee, as its new president, succeeding Robert Kohler. A brief summary of the club's work for the year, as presented by retiring President Kohler, is published in the July *City Club News.*

Robert K. Sawyer, executive director of the Greater Philadelphia Movement, formerly director of the Philadelphia Municipal Research Bureau, addressed the annual meeting of the Civic Federation of Chicago on October 17. His subject was "Philadelphia's Metropolitan Area Tax."

The Westchester County (New York) Women's Bar Association honored Hon. Edith P. Welty, mayor of Yonkers, and County Supervisor Frances Marlatt of Mount Vernon at its annual luncheon. Supreme Court Justice Frank H. Coyne commended Mayor Welty on her "marked service and her splendid work" as Yonkers city councilman. He predicted that Miss Marlatt will meet with the "same measure of success."

Researcher's Digest . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

State Constitutions Subject of Studies

Bureaus Examine Methods of Constitutional Revision

BECAUSE of the current interest in modernizing state constitutions a number of university bureaus have made background studies which are enriching the practical literature in the field.

The Bureau of Municipal Research of the University of Texas has issued the first of a contemplated series concerning the Texas constitution: John P. Keith, *Methods of Constitutional Revision,* including bibliography and lists of joint legislative interim constitutional committees 1947-1949, unofficial constitutional committees 1947-1949, and constitutional commissions and conventions 1941-1949.

The bulletin, based on a review of the available literature, discusses four methods of constitutional change open to Texas: (1) amendment on the initiative of the legislature, (2) legislature acting as a convention, (3) commission, (4) convention. It includes a discussion of research and citizen participation.

The keynote is sounded in the introduction which points out that since "government institutions must be continually adapted to change . . . the first responsibility of the citizen of a democracy is to see that the forms of his institutions are adapted to meet changing situations and in doing so to see that the principles of democracy remain inviolate."

The Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, University of Washington, has issued a 21-page bulletin, *The Background of Constitutional Revision in the State of Washington,* by Ernest Howard Campbell, assistant director of the bureau. It discusses the methods of constitutional revision available to Washington and outlines proposals that have been made for revision of various parts of the constitution. It includes a selected bibliography.

The bulletin demonstrates the difficulty of getting a convention in Washington where a two-thirds vote of the elected members of both houses of the legislature and a majority of the people voting at a general election are required to call a convention.

Kentucky's constitution and government is the subject of a 64-page pamphlet by John E. Reeves, published by the Department of University Extension, Bureau of Government Research of the University of Kentucky. This pamphlet, which sells for 50 cents, is a "preliminary study" intended for university classes in state government and for use in clubs and study groups. It includes a discussion of methods of constitutional revision and points out that the need for revision of the Kentucky constitution, which is a "long restrictive document" difficult to amend, has long been recognized.

The Oklahoma State Legislative Council, with the help of members of the faculty of the University of Oklahoma, continues to issue its excellent constitutional studies. Number 16 *Judicial Personnel,* by Don L. Bowen now on leave from the Department of Government of the university to serve on the staff of the Legislative Council, is a 77-page report covering legal qualifications, selection, compensation tenure and removal of judges. The Missouri nonpartisan court plan is briefly presented with citations to the literature on its operation.

Bureau Note

The 1949 Governmental Research Association's award for the most note

worthy piece of research by a member of the organization went to the Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research for *The Authority in Pennsylvania: Pro and Con,* by Tina V. Weintraub and James D. Patterson.

Strictly Personal

Charlton F. Chute, executive director of the Philadelphia Committee of the Pennsylvania Economy League, has been appointed consultant to the Philadelphia Charter Commission. The Charter Commission has appointed Paul A. Wolkin of the American Law Institute at the University of Pennsylvania as draftsman.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Administration

Administrative Management Program. First Annual Report to Hon. William O'Dwyer, Mayor. (Brief summaries of 22 major studies completed and 23 under way). New York City, Division of Analysis, Bureau of the Budget. 1948. Variously paged.

Assessment

A Guidebook of the County Tax Assessor. By Huey Blair Howerton. University, University of Mississippi, Bureau of Public Administration 1949. 47 pp.

Improved Assessment of Property in Lincoln. Lincoln, Nebraska, Governmental Research Institute, Inc., *Bulletin,* September 1949. 4 pp.

Budgets

Program Budgeting. Fall River, Massachusetts, Taxpayers Association, August 1949. 2 pp.

State Executive Budget Totals Record 197.3 Million Dollars. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *The Wisconsin Taxpayer,* August 1949. 8 pp.

Council-Manager Plan

The Proposed Manager Charter. (Comparison of provisions of present and proposed charters with organization charts.) New Haven, Connecticut, Taxpayers Research Council, Inc., *Council Comment,* September 7, 1949. 4 pp. charts.

County Government

County Reorganization. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 25, 1949. 3 pp.

Governmental Organization of Onondaga County—A Citizens' Guide to County Organization and Activities. **Optional Forms of County Government in New York**—A Summary of Major Provisions of Optional County Government Laws. **Onondaga County Finances 1940-1949**—A Review of Recent Trends in Taxation, Expenditures and Debt. Syracuse, New York, Governmental Research Bureau, 1949. 29, 10 and 12 pp. respectively.

Crime

Relief from Criminal Convictions. (Remedies now available in Illinois and possible new remedies for hard cases.) Springfield, Illinois Legislative Council, November 1948. 33 pp.

Federal Reorganization

The Hoover Commission Report on Personnel Management (A summary). By James R. Watson. Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review,* July 1949. 7 pp.

Hoover Commission Reports Now Before Congress. (A summary of the Commission reports). Denver, Colorado Public Expenditure Council, *Colorado Taxpayer,* July 1949. 8 pp.

Performance Budgeting for the Federal Government. By A. E. Buck. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* July 1949. 6 pp.

Why Your Federal Government Needs Reorganizing. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, August 1949. 2 pp.

Fire

Organization of Fire Department. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 4, 1949. 4 pp.

Food Regulation

Self-Service Frozen Meat Distribution. By Subcommittee of Health and Public Assistance Committee. Seattle, Municipal League, 1949. 7 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule for Kansas. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government,* September 15, 1949. 4 pp.

Hospitals

Receiving Hospital Department: An Administrative Survey. (Volume I, Administration and Organization; Volume II, Emergency Hospital Service, Emergency Ambulance Service; Volume III, Care of Prisoners, Care of Firemen and Police Officers, Medical Services Other Departments; Volume IV, Summary and Conclusions.) Los Angeles, Bureau of Budget and Efficiency, 1949. 69, 66, 65, and 85 pp. respectively. Tables, maps.

Initiative and Referendum

Twelve State Propositions on November Ballot. Cost of City Propositions on the November Ballot. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, August 22 and September 21, 1949. 1 p. each.

Land Use

Industrial Land Supply. Kalamazoo City and Township. By Samuel V. Bennett and Thomas W. Froom. Kalamazoo, Michigan, W. E. Upjohn Institute for Community Research, 1949. 18 pp. map.

Legislation

Report on the 1949 Regular Session of the California Legislature. Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, September 1949. 29 pp.

Legislatures

1949 Interim Committees of the California Legislature. (Purposes, members and appropriations of 70 committees, total appropriations of $1,420,900.) Los Angeles, Chamber of Commerce, State and Local Government Department, August 1949. 32 pp.

Living Costs

Living Costs: Some Relationships. Baltimore and Other Cities Major Components. College Park, University of Maryland, College of Business and Public Administration, Bureau of Business and Economic Research. 1949. 8 pp.

Municipal Government

Taunton Municipal Organization. Taunton, Massachusetts, Association of Commerce, *Research Brevities,* August 29, 1949. 2 pp. charts.

Parking

Parking of Motor Vehicles in Cities (With Illustrative Ordinances.) By Joshua H. Vogel and Norbert F. Knecht. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, April 1949. 80 pp.

Police

Buffalo Police Department. Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* August 11, 1949. 4 pp.

Police Organization for Aid to Children. By Jane E. Rinck. New York Governmental Research Association *GRA Reporter,* July-August 1949. 4 pp table.

Special Districts

Special Districts in California Local Government.[1] (Agricultural school quasi-municipal, metropolitan.) By Stanley Scott and John C. Bollens Berkeley, University of California Bureau of Public Administration, 1949 38 pp. $1.00.

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[1]See also page 498, this issue.

Taxation and Finance

Canada's Approach to the Problem of Overlapping Taxes. By A. E. Buck. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Review,* September 1949. 4 pp.

The Cities Make Financial Progress. A Report on the First Year's Effect of Act 481. (In 25 third-class cities.) Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Economy League, *Newsletter,* August 1949. 12 pp.

Cooperative Administration of Property Taxes in Los Angeles County. By J. E. Swanson, W. R. Bigger and W. W. Crouch. Los Angeles, University of California, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1949. 63 pp.

Elementary School Costs. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1949. 6 pp. tables.

Financial Record of the 1949 Minnesota State Legislature. St. Paul, Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, July 1949. 21 pp.

Governmental Costs and Taxes in 150 Vermont Towns. By Sheldon W. Williams. Burlington, Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, 1948. 27 pp.

Governmental Taxing Units in the State of Washington. (A chart of the 1817 governmental taxing units, excluding the state government, shows there are seventeen kinds of taxing districts exclusive of counties, cities, townships and school districts and includes such districts as cemetery, diking and drainage, public hospital and weed.) Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, 1949. 1 p.

High School Costs Per A. D. A. By Maxine M. McSweyn. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1949. 6 pp. tables.

Higher Budget, Lower Tax Rate. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* September 6, 1949. 1 p.

Highlights of the Survey of Joplin's City Finances. Carthage, Missouri, Jasper County Tax Economy Association, 1949. 7 pp.

Highway Users Taxes $50,000,000 a Year. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* July 1949. 8 pp.

An Introduction to Municipal Finance: A Survey of Second Class Cities in Kansas. By Jack F. McKay. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, 1949. 42 pp.

New Tax Laws of Pennsylvania—1949. (An analysis of state taxes and local tax laws.) Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 22 pp.

Pay As You Go Financing of Capital Improvements. New Sources of Revenue for Capital Improvements. Schenectady, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities,* September 29 and October 7, 1949. 3 and 4 pp. respectively.

Pennsylvania Tax Chart. 1949 edition. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce, 1949. 6 pp.

Property Tax in Utah. Salt Lake City, Utah Foundation, 1949. 4 pp.

Real Estate Tax Sales Continue Upward Trend. Madison, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer,* May 1949. 5 pp. tables.

Receipts of California Cities, 1946-47 and 1947-48. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* July 1949. 9 pp.

A Report on Taxation. (Includes numerous charts comparing Kentucky with other states, conclusions and recommendations.) By James W. Martin. Louisville, Committee for Kentucky, 1949. 29 pp. Illus.

The States' Scramble for Taxes: A Tax Foundation Survey. New York, Tax Foundation, *Tax Outlook,* August 1949. 5 pp.

Steps Toward Economy. Buffalo,

Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 14, 1949. 4 pp.

A Suggestion for Doing Something About Taxes. (Instructions and forms for the payment of taxes under protest and the entry of suits in the Lake County Court.) Waukegan, Illinois, Lake County Civic League, June 30, 1949. 4 pp. and forms.

Surpluses Without Purpose. (A plea for planned use of state surpluses.) By Gordon P. Smith. New York, Governmental Research Association, *GRA Reporter,* March-April 1949. 3 pp.

Taxpayers' Guide. (Reprint of guide issued by the Erie County Treasurer.) Lackawanna, New York, Tax Research Bureau, *Comments,* June 1949. 6 pp.

Tax Trends in California. By Richard M. Zettel. Los Angeles, California Taxpayers' Association, *Tax Digest,* August 1949. 7 pp.

Total Operating and Per Person Costs of Iowa Cities and Towns of Less than 5,000 Population for the Fiscal Year Ending March 31, 1948, with Per Person Cost for Previous Year. Des Moines, Iowa Taxpayers Association, *Iowa Taxpayer,* June 6, 1949. 4 pp.

Tort Liability

Tort Liability is an Administrative Problem. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, *Borough Bulletin,* July 1949. 3 pp.

Traffic and Parking

Downtown Parking Problems. San Francisco, Bureau of Governmental Research, *Bulletin,* July 7, 1949. 1 p.

Parking Problem Has Become a Billion-Dollar Blight on Nation's Business. Buffalo, Municipal Research Bureau, *Just a Moment,* July 7, 1949. 2 pp.

Training

Personnel Record. Student Administrative Analysts. (Records of 60 former interns.) Los Angeles, County Bureau of Administrative Research, 1948. 60 pp.

TAXATION AND FINANCE

(Continued from page 519)

September 1940, sales had approx mated $78,000,000. For the first nin months, 1949 sales were $2,236,000,00 compared with $2,361,000,000 for th corresponding 1948 period and $2,02(000,000 in the first nine months 1947. Nine-month sales had fallen fro $1,033,000,000 in 1940 to a wartime lo of $403,000,000 in 1943.

State and local voters approve during September $121,000,000 of ne bonds, nearly five times the volume the month a year earlier and bett than twice September 1947 autho zations. For the first nine month voter approvals aggregated $718,00 000 compared with $474,000,000 in th 1948 period, $635,000,000 in the first nin months of 1947, and $839,000,000 durin the first nine months of 1946, the fir year when postwar improvement pr grams were being widely submitted

Devaluation of the British poun on September 18, it may be note had a minor effect on the municip bond market. *The Bond Buyer's* index yield on twenty representative m nicipal bonds rose only from 2.13 p cent for September 15 to 2.17 per ce for September 22. By the month's en the index stood at 2.16 per cent, a proximately mid-way between th year's high and low points of 2.10 p cent and 2.21 per cent respectivel In the first week of October 1948, th index had been 2.43 per cent.

Florida Enacts Sales Tax

A special session of the Florida legi lature, called to provide addition revenues to meet an anticipated de cit, has enacted a 3 per cent sales ta estimated to raise $36,000,000 annuall The measure includes an addition one cent per pack to the cigarette ta already in effect (making the tax fiv cents per pack) to provide an estimate $9,500,000 for appropriation to citie

Books in Review

Kentucky on the March. By Harry W. Schacter. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949. 200 pp. $3.

This is the story of the Committee for Kentucky, told with fine enthusiasm by its chairman. The committee got started in 1943. It has undertaken to jerk Kentucky out of old ruts by securing the concerted support of all appropriate existing organizations for making Kentucky citizens aware of the state's backwardness in education, health, agriculture and economics, and beating down the resistance of taxpayers to adequate expenditures on a par per capita with those of other states.

Inquiry produced an array of shocking comparisons and the committee took pains to see that Kentuckians got the shocks. It built up power enough to produce a respectful and sympathetic legislature and made enlarged expenditures popular. It failed to get a new state constitution in the 1947 referendum but has obtained better salaries for school teachers, more tuberculosis sanitaria and a long list of other objectives together with a change in the "moral climate." The slogan "Wake up Kentucky" has already become obsolete and is now "Kentucky on the March."

The committee expects to wind up its program and disband in 1950 leaving a "Blueprint for a Great Kentucky" exhibiting the whole bill which must be met if Kentucky is to lift itself in the course of years from a position among the states close to the bottom in illiteracy, health, welfare to a self-respecting American standard.

For people outside Kentucky the interest of this happy story is in the methods used to get each forward-looking group to recognize the others and fuse their energies in a joint program of sufficient scope and daring to secure the attention of the citizenry. More objective detail would have increased the volume's importance. Even though the fourteen reports of the committee to date were technical and local, it would have enriched this volume if they had been extensively quoted or exhibited as possible models. Statewide associations are notoriously difficult to organize and sustain, more so than nationwide or local groups. Kentucky found a way that some other states, perhaps, can copy—provided they can find within their borders as inspirational and energetic an evangelist as Mr. Schacter has been! Those who heard him at the National Municipal League meeting in Nashville in 1947 will find this a gratifying and later record of the effort.

R. S. C.

Public Opinion and Propaganda. By Leonard W. Doob. New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1948. vii, 600 pp. $3.75.

Propaganda, good and bad, is a vast growth on our modern web of swift communication and nation-wide listening. It represents the application of wholesale and mechanized methods to the discussion of public problems in our vast American community. The author has been up to his neck in it in the Office of War Information and can invoke instances with an admirable facility and comprehensiveness. His chapters on the history and science of polls seems particularly well informed. The author draws no moral from the vast panorama he exhibits.

The hammering of the public mind by urgent idea-mongers sometimes seems like government by clamor, with mass picketing of public offices, including courts in session, as the latest

and most banal example of method. The alternative, we submit, is revival of the usages of representative government, so that proponents of fresh thought instead of mailing a million pieces to constituents of congressmen, will go to the congressmen direct, confident of being heard on the merits and willing to abide by an honest decision.

The idea that constituents are in duty bound to breathe on the necks of their representatives every time the latter prepare to vote is unworkable; appeals over their heads to the public are essential in cases where representatives are feathering their own nests or their party nests, but the technique need not be extended to every issue. Witness the city councils in council-manager towns where public-spirited and trusted councilmen often work constructively and unharassed for many terms because the town rightly trusts their intentions, their ability and their judgment. As voters we will temper the stridence of our outcries in response to propaganda if we can vest government in men we know and trust.

Propaganda, or most of it, is the clamor of pressure groups frequently reckless of the general interest in the pursuit of their selfish purposes. We cannot deny them the right to yell but we know how to set up improved and dignified governmental machinery which will be more immune from the influence of mere clamor. Thereby we may hope that clamor will become relatively futile and less worth using. Democracy could do with less!

But Professor Doob has performed an important service in surveying so competently the current state of propagandist practice! R. S. C.

The Political Community—A Study of Anomie. By Sebastian de Grazia. Chicago, University of Chicago Pres 1948. xx, 258 pp. $4.

The ship of human progress, inclu ing the operation of government floats on cross-currents of popular b lief systems old or new, which co stitute erratic variables for the nav gators. The expensive word in the su title is, it seems, in one dictionary a least—but not ours—and refers to popular sense of being without clea and trusted guidance or of being co fused by conflict between systems belief.

An acute case is that of the Germa people just before Hitler set the drilling and released them from th necessity of groping further for co lective hopes and convictions of the own. The author lines up the histor of our restless modern world in th light of his disclosure of the phenom non and, after the manner of scientist chooses and puts into circulation h new name for it. The word may hav a long and useful life, too, for where anomie may be blissfully absent amon a backwater populace with unquestio ing faith in its priests and governor it will whipsaw free-thinking advance populations, exposed to incessa comparisons with the belief systems other populations, for many a gener tion.

A fresh, profound and provocati analysis! The author is assistant pr fessor of social sciences at Chica University.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Crime

Uniform Crime Reports for t United States and Its Possessions. sued by United States Department Justice, Federal Bureau of Investig tion. Washington, D. C., United Stat Government Printing Office, 1949. 74 p

Directories

Guide to Women's Organizations. A handbook About National and International Groups. By Ellen Anderson. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1949. 167 pp. $2.

1949-50 Official Directory of South Dakota Municipal Officials. Vermillion, South Dakota Municipal League, 1949. pp. $3.50.

Federal Government

Appraisal and Control of Duplicating Service. By Executive Office of the President, Bureau of the Budget. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent Documents, 1949. 44 pp. 30 cents.

The Department of State. A History Its Organization, Procedure and Personnel. By Graham H. Stuart. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949. 517 pp. $7.50.

The Efficiency of "The Largest Enterprise on Earth." New York, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* June-July 1949. 16 pp. 25 cents.

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Digest and Index of Laws Enacted cluding Cross Reference Tables, easures Vetoed, and Tables of Secons Amended, Repealed, Added and upplemented. Twenty-fifth Legislare, Territory of Hawaii. Honolulu 14, niversity of Hawaii, Legislative eference Bureau, 1949. 101 pp.

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Municipal Regulation of Parking ots. By Charles S. LeCraw, Jr., and ilbur S. Smith. Saugatuck, Connecti-t, Eno Foundation for Highway affic Control, 1949. 66 pp.

Off-Street Parking. What Is Being one About Today's Off-street Parking roblem by Private Enterprise. Washgton, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of e U.S.A., Transportation and Comunication Department, 1949. 38 pp. us. 40 cents (quantity prices on reuest).

Parking—What Cities Are Doing. By Arnold A. Sio. Chicago 37, American Municipal Association, 1949. 17 pp. 50 cents.

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1948 Annual Report. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 34 pp. graphs.

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Estimates of the Population of Continental United States: 1940 to 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1949. 5 pp.

Looking at Buffalo's Population in 1975. An Analysis of Past Trends in Population Growth and Composition and a Tentative Forecast for the Future. Buffalo, City Planning Commission, 1949. 24 pp. graphs.

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State Employment in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1949. 12 pp.

Safety

Accident Facts. Chicago 6, National Safety Council, 1949. 97 pp. graphs.

Taxation and Finance

Admissions Taxes — Experience of Cities — Model Annotated Ordinances. By Charles S. Rhyne. Washington 6, D. C., National Institute of Municipal Law Officers, 1949. 31 pp. $2.

Compendium of State Government Finances in 1948. By Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1949. 56 pp. 25 cents.

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Large City Finances in 1948. (The 37 cities covered are those having 1940 populations over 250,000.) Washington

25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1949. 56 pp.

Michigan Fiscal Problems. A Summary Report of the Michigan Conference on State and Local Tax Problems. By Denzel C. Cline. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy,* August 1949. 20 pp. 25 cents.

The Passing Parade of Public Finance. An address by Miner B. Phillipps. Chicago 37, Municipal Finance Officers Association of the United States and Canada, 1949. 8 pp.

Payments to Local Units of Government—Fiscal Year 1948-49. State Income Tax—1948 Returns. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, Research Division, 1949. 11 and 17 pages respectively.

State Tax Collections in 1949. Washington 25, D. C., Bureau of the Census, 1949. 10 pp.

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Philadelphia's First Expressway. Philadelphia, City Planning Commission, 1949. 10 pp.

Street Traffic Management for Los Angeles. Appraisal and Recommendations. By Traffic Survey Committee. Los Angeles, the Committee, 1948. 74 pp. illus.

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